DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 237 653 CE 037 517

TITLE	NATCON 6.
INSTITUTION	Canadian Commission of Employment and Immigration, Ottawa (Ontario).
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-662-12887-7
PUB DATE	83
NOTE	234p.; For related documents, see ED 220 614-615, ED 229 570-571, and CE 037 516. Published in French under the title "CONNAT 6."
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Viewpoints (120)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC10 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Counseling; Adults; Career Choice; *Career Counseling; *Career Development; *Career Guidance; Counseling Effectiveness; *Counseling Techniques; Counselor Client Relationship; Counselors; Decision Making; Delinquency; Life Satisfaction; *Middle Aged Adults; Older Adults; Rehabilitation Counseling; Time Management; Values; Vocational Evaluation; Vocational Rehabilitation; *Work Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS	Canada

ABSTRACT

This document, one in a series of booklets containing research reports on vocational counseling and guidance, was prepared by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. Eleven articles are contained in this collection. Four of the articles form a series on how adults' concerns about work change with age, including the vocational development of adults at ages 43-47, 48-52, and 53-57. Other topics covered in the remaining seven articles are the following: counseling as a social exchange, a rationale and reason for short-term counseling, a profile of how Canadians use their time--and the implications of their time use on career counseling, assessing and counseling the antisocial client, skills for counseling in an institution, psychometric and situational vocational assessment at the Royal Ottawa Regional Rehabilitation Centre, and stages in the development of an interdisciplinary approach to career decision making. Most of the reports contain bibliographies. The booklet contains lists of contents of the previous five NATCON collections. (KC)

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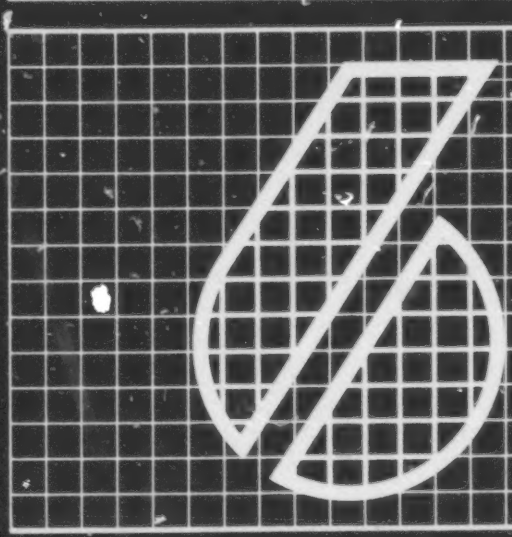

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Futuristics: Counselling as Social Exchange ..... *R.V. Peavy*

A Rationale and Advocacy for Short-Term Counseling ..... *Harvey W. Trimmer Jr.*

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Stages in the Development of an Interdisciplinary Approach to Career Decision Making ..... *J.R.B. Cassie, F.G. Robinson*

Canada

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The articles in this book are based upon reports prepared at the request of the Employment Support Services Branch of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission.

1983

Disponible en français sous le titre "Connat 6"

WH-7-265E

Employment and Immigration Canada
Employment Support Services Branch

Emploi et Immigration Canada
Direction générale des services de soutien d'emploi

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Cat. No. MP32-14/1983-6E

ISBN 0-662-12887-7

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Preface

Vocational counselling and guidance is important in helping Canadians plan for, enter and succeed in the labour market. For this reason the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) undertakes research and development to improve the methodology of vocational guidance and employment counselling. Many of the counselling tools that are created for CEIC are freely shared with schools, rehabilitation agencies and other organizations. The NATCON series provide a means of sharing research reports and information on new developments and practices with vocational counsellors thus further enhancing the level of service throughout Canada.

D. Stuart Conger
Director General
Employment Support
Services Branch

Futuristics: Counselling as Social Exchange

R.Vance Peavy, Professor
Department of Psychological Foundations
Faculty of Education
University of Victoria

Introduction

Counselling practices, especially in North America, are largely organized around theories of personality and psychotherapy. This has led to a strong, almost exclusive, preoccupation with the welfare and psychology of the individual and a lack of attention to the *social* basis of human existence. Self-actualization and behavioral models are examples of this emphasis. Individualistic orientations in counselling rest on certain assumptions about the nature of human reality. One such assumption is that human reality is rooted in biology, more specifically physiology and neurology. This encourages the use, by counsellors and other helpers, of ideas about genetics, traits and factors, temperament, and so on. A different, individualistic assumption about human reality is that it is rooted in the psyche or self. In counselling, this assumption encourages the use of insight methods as exemplified in client-centered, gestalt, and other so-called "humanistic" treatment methods.

Adopting a "psychological" frame of reference leads counsellors not only to overlook the "social" nature of existence, but also to reject cultural wisdom and everyday common sense in favour of "scientifically" established psychological principles and knowledge. This is accompanied by the use of a specialized terminology required to express the concepts of psychology. This conversion from common sense knowledge to psychological knowledge together with the substitution of a specialized language in place of ordinary language results in an *alienation* of clients from themselves, their peers and their own sources of cultural wisdom. Counselling, whatever else it does, should contribute to a "rendering intelligible" of the client life-world and should not contribute to an alienation of clients from social contexts. This argument was succinctly stated by a "lower class" client to his counsellor in these words: "Doctor, you sure talk funny!"

Under the influence of psychotherapeutic frames of reference, counsellors seem inexorably drawn to versions of the "abnormal" and tend to view clients as sickly victims who

need "curing" or "modifying".

Finally, the scientific orientation of psychology and many forms of psychotherapy result in an excessive counselling focus on "behavior" or, more precisely, behavioral "events" rather than on "actions"; upon "causes" rather than "purposes"; and upon "observation" rather than "participation". The word "event" is used to link psychology to physics and thus augurs well for a respectable scientific image.

So far I have indicated some reasons for being dissatisfied with psychologically-based models of counselling. Now I will turn to a sociologically based model of counselling.

Social Exchange: an alternate view. There is, I believe, an alternate view of human reality which should receive more consideration from counsellors and other helpers. This alternate view is that human reality is basically *social reality* which arises from the exchanges between people. The basic assumption of this view is that social order is *negotiated order*. While biology and psyche are certainly important factors, they do not constitute the essential fabric of social order. Rather, it is the various social structures (relationships, agreements, organizations, institutions, laws, communication structures, and other negotiated arrangements) which constitute the actual "stuff" of human society.

Daily life is essentially social in nature. Certain essential activities or social practices such as working, loving, playing, and conversing make up social reality. The social reality which individuals construct is invariably constructed *in relation to* others. There really is no human existence apart from sociality. Even the role of hermit or recluse would be without basis unless there was a social world to retire from. Counselling itself is a process of social exchange. What would be the purpose of the counsellor if no clients existed and vice versa?

Most learning occurs through social exchange. Consider the learning of language, the most important single learning achievement in the life of the individual. Acquisition of language outside of a social context is unthinkable. Just as important is the development of a *self*. Learning to participate in group interaction gives one a self and vice versa. The self-as-such arises through process of negotiation about *who shall be whom* and *what order shall prevail*, (more about this later). Counselling, if it is to have a real place in social life, must find ways to gear into social participation and negotiation processes and reduce the present excessive preoccupation with individuals — both in terms of "behavior" and in terms of "ego" (self-actualization).

Counselling as social exchange and social practice. The recognition that social order is determined more through negotiation than by biology or psychic organizations requires a re-conceptualization of the nature and tasks of "helping" in order to place it more securely in social reality. In this paper I am outlining such a model of "social" counselling.

As a process counselling is a process of social exchange. *As* something which the counsellor *does*, counselling is a *social practice*. Thus, counselling can be defined as either social exchange or social practice depending upon whether reference is made to the process of counselling or to what the counsellor actually *does* as counsellor.

The perspective of counselling which I am proposing in this paper has four defining elements which distinguish it from other counselling perspectives. First, it is construed as a process of social exchange. This places the focus on the *social* relations constructed by members of a social system and on the *relations* between persons and institutions. This might be characterized as a move to de-psychologize counselling.

Second, social counselling utilizes the concept of status, a uniquely social concept. Society is hierarchical with members always occupying various status positions. One's status is always a position *in reference to* others or in reference to structures. Status tells us what to expect of a person. Status is always defined by eligibilities — one must be able *to do* certain performances and be *eligible* to do them, in order to qualify for a given status. Statuses are frequently negotiated. Status, then, is associated with relationships, eligibilities, performances, memberships, and is a powerful social concept for indicating linkages between persons and social structures. More on status shortly.

Before more precisely describing the social model of counselling, I wish to discuss in more detail the concepts of (1) *social* practice, (2) status and, (3) the *Meadian self* which together with the concept of social exchange constitute the critical intellectual underpinnings of a model of social counselling.

Social practices. As a working definition of social counselling, I will say then that doing counselling is a *social practice*. I will now explain what I mean by this.

Social practices such as conversing, reading a book, preparing a meal, parenting, or cutting wood refer to *what* is done in social life, and *how* it is done. There are optimal ways of doing a social practice, for example — preparing a meal. One can work from scratch in making a meal and begin by gathering ingredients from a garden or one can buy a packaged meal at the super market. Meals can be prepared

"before hand" or in the "present moment"; cooked on the stove or in a microwave oven and so on. However, these options are known, agreed-upon ways of doing which can be carried out to a conclusion by persons who are *eligible* to do them and competent to do them. For example, babies are neither eligible nor competent to prepare meals. Any member in good standing of a bridge club can be expected to play a game of bridge to conclusion. Winning or losing is irrelevant to doing the social practice of bridge-playing, while eligibility is highly relevant.

Every community has two types of social practices: fundamental and optional. Fundamental social practices are those which are essential to the existence of any community at all. Abstract examples are: accreditation practices (how I become eligible to participate); degradation practices (how I am made ineligible); negotiation practices (what we can agree upon); and communication practices (especially the use of language).

Optional social practices are such things as typing, swimming, singing, running for office and using arithmetic. The distinction between fundamental and optional social practices is sometimes unclear and varies with different cultural groups and social contexts.

I have already suggested that counselling can be defined as a social practice. Whether it is a fundamental, or optional, social practice is debateable. Counselling is first of all a negotiation process. Counselling is a process characterized by *moves* and counter-moves; by agreements and refusals. What is the next move? What have we agreed to? You do this and I'll do that. Second, counselling is a means of influencing both accreditation and degradation procedures (ceremonies). An accreditation exchange is one in which a person learns something, or does something, which adds to his/her eligibility for a particular status or for participation in social practices of the community. For example, if a client learns how to control his/her temper outbursts, then the possibility for achieving status as a "satisfactory employee" is increased.

A degradation ceremony results in a person having a reduced behavior potential in the community or group in question. Degradation ceremonies require these elements: a perpetrator, a denouncer and a witness. Denouncing and witnessing roles can be played by the same person or by different members of the same community. Degradation ceremonies are common in schools. For example, the teacher acts as denouncer, the pupil is the perpetrator (breaks a school rule), and the principal is witness. The same person can be both denouncer and witness. "You are late for the in-

terview. We have a policy in our office to deny further interviews to someone who is late more than once."

Status. What I have said so far points out the critical importance of the term "status" in a sociological conception of counselling.

Status is, first of all, a sociological concept. When the status of something or someone is known, that means the status-object has been located in some domain and, as a consequence, we know how to treat it, and what we can expect of it. As a person, to have status is to have a place within a social context. To put this another way, a person's status designates his/her place within a network of personal, social and other relationships. Each person has a certain status (or statuses) within various contexts: family, worksetting, friends, church, organizational or national context. In a logical sense, a person's status specifies what he/she is eligible to do within a given context. To put this slightly differently, we can say that a person's status defines that individual's possibilities and impossibilities for behaving. Status also regulates how others act toward a person, as well as what they expect or require, as a consequence of the particular status. This is why status is a fundamental concept both in society and for counsellors.

Status assignment. One class of statuses which we have are those which *we assign to ourselves*. For example, I assign myself the statuses of "good writer", "trained counsellor", "poor joketeller" and so on. *Others* assign status to us. Jack is "an important figure in his field"; "Frank a dangerous criminal" and so on. As persons, we choose whether or not to incorporate the status-assignments of others into our own self-status-organization. A child may be called "bright" at school and "stupid" at home. We learn a lot about ourselves by observing the statuses which others assign to us.

Statuses are not "facts"; rather they are attributions of a particular sort. Statuses enable us to *identify* what something or someone is; status ascriptions are not "truth" statements. A status is neither true nor false, it describes what place one occupies in relation to others in a particular context. When we are prepared *to act on* something, we give it the status of "real". This is the "real" reason why I am going to act. We often give one status priority over another: John "sacrifices" his career for the sake of his marriage. John is at once making a behavioral choice, a personal decision and adjusting his self-status assignments. He now has the status of "one who will place marriage above career".

In summary, the sociological concept of *status* is a conceptual method for incorporating "place in the world", "be-

havior potential" and "eligibility" into a single term. *Status dynamics* refers to the interplay among personal characteristics, behavioral potential, and the real world. Status and status dynamics are concepts which can help the counsellor to shift attention from intra-psychic factors to relationships amongst people and between people and objects and processes of communities (social contexts).

The Meadian Self. George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) is considered by some to be the founder of social psychology. One of Mead's driving ambitions was to develop a theory which would weld together the individual and society to become one thing showing itself in two ways (person and social structure) rather than remaining two distinct entities.

Mead tried to solve this tension between the individual and society by introducing a Meadian conception of the "self" which incorporated two "personal selves". This is not a new explanation in itself. For example, Freud had previously theorized that each individual psyche contains ego, id and superego. For Freud, however, each of these three sub-selves has knowledge and motives unknown to the others and each, at times, might strongly dominate the other, creating behaviors which are then labelled neurotic.

Mead, in contrast to Freud and most other self-psychologists, assumed that as individuals we are explicitly aware of our own personal selves. The Meadian self is composed of the "I" — the knower in the present which cannot be experienced as the known. This self must remain a hypothesis. The second self is "me" the self I can know. A person can reconstruct in memory and in imagination the "me" which represents the objective person who "does this", "says that", "feels this", and "believes X but not Y". This is the same kind of knowledge we have about other people. It is true that we are aware of ourselves as "I" — that is, as an active subject rather than the object "me". Mead's position is that the "I" which I can be aware of is not the *basic I* which originates all acts of knowing in the present. That "I" can remember the act of remembering is an example of *present* experiencing. The "I" which *is remembering* is not available for observation or experiencing. *What* is remembered is drawn up from the past. For example, I now remember "yesterday at 2:00 p.m. 'I' walked along the beach". The "I" which I remember is now removed from present experiencing and becomes present for awareness and observation. The "I" in memory converts to "me". "Oh, yes that was *me* walking on the beach yesterday at 2:00 p.m."

It is a common experience for most of us to remember (in the present) inner dialogues with ourselves from the past.

The paradigmatic instance of this is the conversation: "I said to myself . . .". Here we bring into view two seemingly different types of people: "I" — the subject with desires, fears, motives, needs, projects, and "me" the evaluator, critic, even moralizer.

> "I decided that I'd take my leave of this lovely lady, when I saw what I was doing I said to myself, I can hear it now — 'You are a perfect fool, an utter, perfect fool.' That's how much I thought of me!"

Inner dialogues of this nature have their counterpart in social interaction — they are called the two-party conversation. In a two-party conversation there is an "I" who speaks and a "me" who listens and responds with alternation of these two roles occuring again and again.

Most of our public social lives are carried on within the context of conversations. Much of our private lives are giving over to inner dialogue. The self is the *internalization* of the social processes by means of which people love, work, and fight. This is a distinctively *social* conception of self. A conception which binds the individual and society into a single phenomenon. People learn "who" they are by participating in social life — a prime example being conversation. To some degree the self also exerts an influence on social processes both in the moment ("I'm not going to listen to you right now!") and more permanently ("I'm fed up — I'm leaving you."). A crucial point with implications for counsellors is that we learn, through interaction, to experience ourselves as "me". We are able to "look" at ourselves reflectively and through imagination. We can learn to see the world, and our own world, through the eyes of the "other" so to speak. It becomes possible, then, to see a situation through the eyes of a professor, a millwright, an unemployed person, a foreigner. More importantly, it is possible to imagine how these "others" would interpret our own actions and ideas.

This discussion of the Meadian Self indicates the great importance for counsellors to gain expertise with role-playing methods and psychodrama as a way of helping clients to construct and reconstruct relations with others; develop knowledge of individual selves; clarify status arrangements and, more generally, to gain a better understanding of the many ways in which self and society are tied together in mutual influence. Also, the inner dialogue nature of the "I" and "me" of the Meadian Self suggests how counsellor skill should extend to such counselling techniques as "the empty chair" technique, utilization of "self-talk", "rehearsal",

and drawing or other graphic methods which enable clients to engage in "I-me" conversations. All such I-me exchanges can be directed to illuminate processes of choice, decision-making and conflict resolution.

Tasks. Social counselling can also be defined in terms of *performances or tasks* which the counsellor and client carry out and which permit counselling to be defined as a *helping* (negotiating) process within a social context. These tasks identify what the counsellors *do* that define counselling as a social practice. The application of task analysis to the counselling process encourages a clarification of what actually is done in counselling.

As social exchange and practice, counselling is a means to assist persons to negotiate more successful (or more desirable) status positions in the social order. Counselling itself is a negotiated structure with certain prominant tasks to be carried out by both counsellor and client.

- The counsellor and client(s) *work together* to identify those *tasks* which the client(s) can carry out in support of solving the problem which is being encountered. As much as possible the counsellor-client working relationship is cooperative, with the counsellor taking the role of ally.
- One principal task of the counsellor is to *structure communication* so that problem-solving tasks may be carried out more effectively. This includes both two-person and small group communication structures. The communicative relationship, which the counsellor is primarily responsible for building up, may range from a warm, supportive liaison to a power-based relationship where the counsellor deliberately uses a superior status position to influence the client. What option the counsellor exercises in this depends upon the actual counselling context.
- A second principal task of the counsellor is to provide *encouragement* (reinforcement) to the client(s) as a means of maintaining a motivational basis for problem-solving.
- A third principal task of the counsellor is to function as a "coach" who *teaches those social (life) skills* to clients as needed to solve problems and live more successfully. This is primarily a pedagogical task and includes suggestions and directions on how to perform those tasks which are designed to lead to problem solutions.
- A fourth task of the counsellor is to stimulate and enhance *client awareness* of self (own behavior), the behavior of others, within the ramifications of the particular social context in question. Such awareness should be in the service of eliminating obstacles to performing those tasks which are required for the solution of problems which the client

actually encounters. The goal of awareness rests on the assumption that it is both good and useful to acquire an *increased understanding* of matters at hand. The practice of empathy is a major tool for achieving such awareness and understanding.

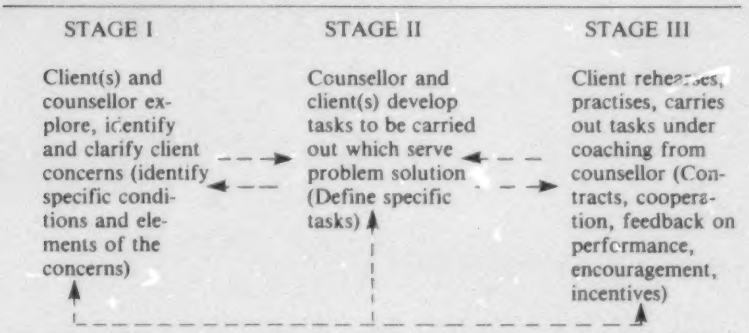
- The major tasks of the *client* are: (a) *working with* the counsellor to identify and clarify the problem (or problems) in living which he (she or they) face; (b) together with the counsellor, *identifying and negotiating* those tasks which the client(s) can (with help and coaching) resolve through his (her or their) own actions; (c) *performing the tasks* as agreed upon under conditions of encouragement and coaching (when necessary) by the counsellor.

The main categories of problems which can be dealt with by social counselling are:

1. *Interpersonal conflict.*
2. *Incompetence in social relations (skills)* — This includes lack of skill in such tasks as applying for a job, making a complaint, carrying out a conversation, studying, self-assertion as well as such social problems as loneliness, over-dependence, helplessness and so on.
3. *Problems with formal organizations* such as breakdown in communications or lack of knowledge about procedures for relating to such institutions as schools, social agencies, employment centres, hospitals, police, etc.
4. *Problems in role performance* such as difficulties in performing social roles such as parent, spouse, employee, student, rehabilitee, etc.
5. *Difficulties in performing social transitions* such as moving from one school to another, one job to another, separation from family, changing from employed to unemployed, working to retired status, and so on.
6. *Reactive emotional distress* in the face of particularly disturbing events or situations such as loss of a loved one, loss of job, financial failure, marital separation, criminal conviction and so on. Such reactions usually take the form of either depression or anxiety.
7. *Insufficient resources*, such as lack of housing, job, money, medical care, transportation, food, or other material deficits.

Structure of social counselling. One element of counselling structure has already been mentioned: *communication* — in the service of problem solving. A second element is *intensive time use*. One positive result in shifting from a psychotherapeutic orientation to a negotiated, task-oriented approach is that the feasibility and usefulness of *short-term* counselling is immediately made more clear.

The stages of the counselling model being presented can be diagrammed thusly:


STAGE I
STAGE II
STAGE III
Client(s) and counsellor explore, identify and clarify client concerns (identify specific conditions and elements of the concerns)
Counsellor and client(s) develop tasks to be carried out which serve problem solution (Define specific tasks)
Client rehearses, practises, carries out tasks under coaching from counsellor (Contracts, cooperation, feedback on performance, encouragement, incentives)

Negotiation. Conceptualizing counselling as a social treatment utilizing negotiation helps to de-mystify the helping process and to bring more of a social exchange (give and take) focus into the process. Forms of psychotherapy and psychological counselling can be their own worst enemies if they operate so as to foster helplessness and dependency — the very ills they are supposed to get rid of! Negotiation is a process which realistically takes power into account, which utilizes the social concept of *status*, and which is conducted through the use of specific (negotiating) skills which can be taught rather quickly to willing learners. *Contacts* are formal devices to be used with clients within the counselling process as a method of making the outcomes of negotiation more explicit. Conceptualizing counselling as negotiation also stresses the importance of *incentives* in bringing about task accomplishment.

Action. The term "action" is preferred in social counselling over the term "behavior". The reasons for this preference are that "action" implies "actor"; further actor implies *responsibility*. One of the unfortunate consequences of decades of psychotherapy and psychological counselling has been the insidious reduction of the individual's sense of self as actor in the social drama of life — and the reduction of the sense of responsibility for self and others which accompanies this knowledge that one *deliberately* acts. Stress on "behavior" and "internal" mechanisms of the psyche tend to reduce persons to drives, events, tendencies and correlations. Social counselling views persons as deliberate actors in social exchanges with responsibility for the consequences of their actions and advocates the need to train persons in those social skills needed to perform effectively in social exchanges and status change.

Concluding thought. A social exchange model of counselling rests on the recognition that counsellors (and clients)

live in pluralistic worlds. There is no one true reality verifiable by science. Rather there are *multiple* realities. Also recognized by this model is the pervasive aims of status and the need to account for power within counselling relationships. Much remains to be done with this model but at least it represents a clear conceptual and practical break with counselling concepts and procedures which have fallen too much under the domination of psychology and psychotherapy. Sociality is too important to ignore!

A Rationale and Advocacy for Short-Term Counseling

Harvey W. Trimmer, Jr.
Chief of Counseling and Special Services,
Nevada Employment Security Department

Do any of these sound familiar?

- Why does counseling have to take so long? I could just barely get my (wife), (husband), (friend) to come for one or two sessions.
- I just can't afford two to three years of counseling. Can't you help me in a few weeks?
- See a counselor for two or three months — you've got to be kidding! I need a job, not a "shrink!"

and so on — and so forth — ad infinitum — ad nasium!!

The difficulty in a nutshell is too many clients — too little time — too much of everything! Caseloads of 500 — 1,000 — or more — are not unusual today. Is there an answer? Or any way out? I would suggest an unqualified "YES". Let me cite an example. A few years ago, research was conducted on the efficiency of employment counseling in several states, measured in terms of placement results. The results speak for themselves.

FIGURE 1
The Relationship of the Number of Counseling Sessions to Placement in Two States A and B

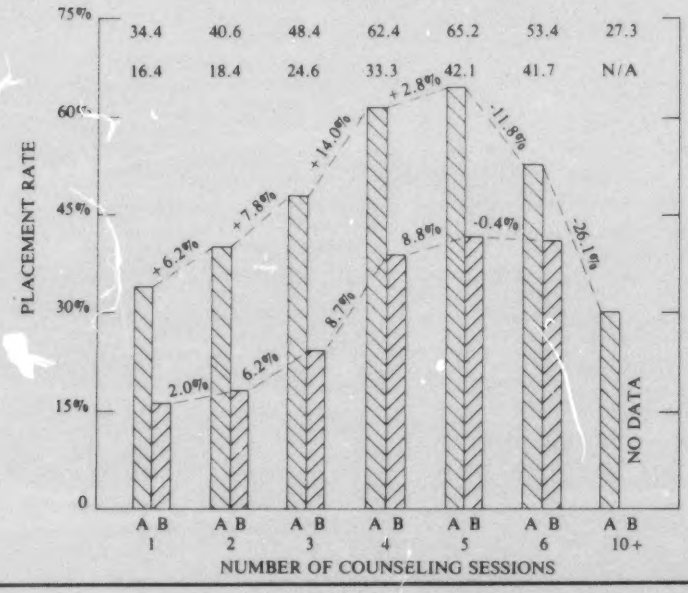
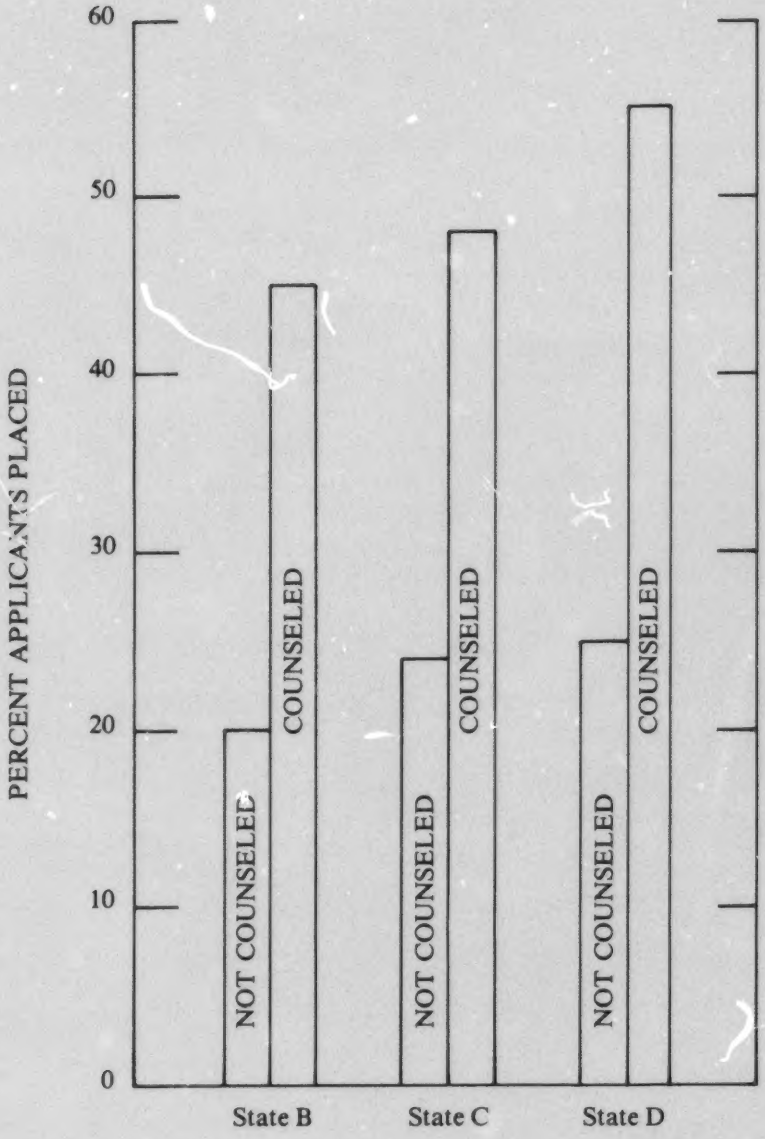


FIGURE 2

Comparative Placement Results with
2.5 Counseling Sessions Per Applicant
(Average)



As might be expected, placement results advanced significantly when compared with the number of counseling sessions, *but* — only up to a point. It is obvious from the illustrations that a maximum of five sessions produced the greatest gains, with the most significant advances taking place after three or four sessions. Data from other states (see Figure 2) indicated that significant gains took place with a mean of 2.5 sessions.

What does all this mean? It would appear to dramatically illustrate the obtaining of rather impressive results, with a limited number of counselor interactions, or — *short term counseling really works*: and should be the "wave" of the future whose rationale might appear as follows:

Rationale for Short-Term Counseling

1. Most of the therapy and counseling currently taking place is governed by time constraints. This is particularly true of clinical work taking place in outpatient clinics and community mental health centers, community rehabilitation or employment offices, substance abuse centers, and the like. Counselors have become more and more aware that open-ended, long-term therapy or counseling is impractical, unfeasible and counterproductive in a majority of instances.
2. In the growing cost-conscious, consumer-oriented society, of which all treatment agencies are a segment, there is increasing interest and awareness of the need to make available treatment facilities to more people. Consequently, the search for briefer and more economical procedures and modalities have become markedly intensified.
3. The stress of accountability has made it clear that short-term counseling is the only modality that can be measured effectively.
4. Recent advances and theories concerning effectiveness and techniques for this treatment modality strongly suggest increasing interest in the use and different applications of short-term counseling.

If the above holds true — and it is strongly suggested it does, then the question arises, how is it accomplished?

Perhaps first, however, an examination of a lengthier treatment mode might be in order, particularly for purposes of contrast between both the theories and modalities.

Cause Effects Cure

Initially, the notion of free association and infinite patience was as alien to Freud as the reverse would be to his followers today.

Historically, it is clear that Freud first sought a quick cure . . . [for he] believed that to know the cause of a neuro-

sis would lead promptly to its solution and resolution: his early emphasis was in a quick diagnosis of the psychodynamics involved in their undoing through active interpretation (Small, 1979, p. 4) this was clearly demonstrated in Freud's early collaboration with Breur (from 1857 through 1895) in which the concepts of brief treatment were identified and discussed even before the *sine qua non* of psychoanalysis had been developed. Fenichel (1954) later strongly reinforced this idea when he recommended that those individuals really interested in brief psychotherapy (which he partially identified as "the child of better practical necessity") start by rereading Breur and Freud's *Studies in Hysteria* for the earliest (1857–1895) practical discussions and applications by Freud of this concept (Small, 1979).

Concern about the length of treatment only emerged as Freud's theoretical comprehension of personality development and neurotic formation enlarged and grew into focus. It was also at this point in time that his "wrong turning" took place as he sought a solution to the increasing resistance of some of his patients. He eventually handled such resistance by the adoption of a technique of free association on the part of his patient while he (and by projection, all psychotherapists) acted in the role of a passive sounding board, with free-floating attention and infinite patience (Bellak & Small, 1977; Malan, 1980, Small, 1979).

Free Association Demands Lengthy Time Frames

The consequences of this development have either been strenuously denied, ignored, or else embraced as a necessary and vital part, not only of therapy but, to the extent the medical model was adopted within other helping disciplines, by all professionals attempting to provide assistance to another human being. The most obvious has been dramatically illustrated in the enormous time frames implicit in the treatment process — a minimum of several months to a maximum of a lifetime.

The consequences of the adoption of this approach have been most visible in the inability of most helping agencies to provide sufficient service within their constraints of time, staff availability, and budgetary considerations. The vacancies available have been filled by long-term clients, thus preventing availability of service of new clients who seek assistance with their problems (Goldring, 1980).

Most importantly, it is suggested that the necessity for such a long-term approach is of doubtful therapeutic value or effectiveness and may even serve in a counterproductive sense where clients and helpers collude in the fantasy that, given sufficient time, one day in the distant future all

problems will be resolved and the world will be rosy and untroubled.

The only difficulty here is that this future is always a certain period of time in the distance, awaiting the resolution of yet another period of resistance: yet such resistance is basic to any change process (Goldring, 1980; Mann & Goldman, 1982). Thus the fantasy creates a never-ending, infinite cycle with no resolution.

As Mann (1973, p. 10) observed:

> "One way of understanding the failure to give time central significance in short terms of psychotherapy lies in the will to deny the horror of time by the therapists themselves".

He then further elaborated (pp. 10–11) concerning the painful recognition of time limitations:

> "Any psychotherapy which is limited in time brings fresh flame to the enduring presence in all persons of the conflict between timelessness, infinite time, immortality and the omnipotent fantasies of childhood on the one hand, and time, finite time, reality, and death on the other hand. The wishes of the unconscious are timeless and promptly run counter to an offer of help in which time is limited. Thus, any time-limited psychotherapy addresses itself both to child time and to adult time. At the least, this gives rise to powerful conflicting reactions, responses, and most of all, conflicting expectations. The greater the ambiguity as to the duration of treatment, the greater the influence of child time on unconscious wishes and expectations. The greater specificity of duration of treatment, the most rapidly and appropriately is child time confronted with reality and the work to be done" see also Mann & Goldman, 1982, pp. 2–3).

Thus as early as the late 1930s and early 1940s, the concerns of time had become central cardinal approaches, both to the therapeutic process (Proceedings, 1942, 1944, 1946) as well as to "the process of adaptation and maturation in all areas of human existence" (Davanloo, 1980, p. 6). This period of time also was responsible for many of the most influential works dealing with the "baffling discrepancy" (Davanloo, 1980, p. 7) between length, intensity, and success of the therapeutic process.

Passivity Versus Movement

That which is being suggested here is an absolute reversal of the trend toward passivity originally established by Freud

and then modified, expanded, and given an aura of professionalism and respectability by Rogers (and later by Carkhuff), which has persisted, within a large body of theory, to the present time.

Traditional therapy tends to be more passive, reflective, open-ended and patient (client) steered: it is oriented toward feelings, self-understanding as a prerequisite to action, and the reflections of the past in the present, with the hope that enduring behavioral modifications will emerge as a result of the prolonged exploratory collaboration of patient (client) and therapist (counselor) (Barten, 1971, p. 8–9).

Brief therapy, or counseling, on the other hand is: characteristically a technique which is active, focused, goal-oriented, circumscribed, warmly supportive, action-oriented and concerned with present adaptation (Barten, 1971, p. 9).

It usually deals with a specific problem constellation and generally aims for the resolution of a present conflict or discomfort, with its objectives many times of an emergency nature. *Isn't that exactly your challenge everyday*. Consider also that not only is short-term counseling the only tool available, but *more importantly*, it is also more often than not, the only form of effective treatment that your clients will accept!

Principles of Short-Term Counseling

Basic principles of brief therapy and counseling include early formulation of the problem, immediate focusing, and, finally, challenging areas of resistance and defense. In short, a method of treatment for symptoms or maladaptations that demands the quickest possible relief because of the crippling or endangering nature of the symptoms (Bellak & Small, 1977; Coleman, 1960; Proceedings, 1942, 1944, 1946; Wolberg, 1965). It was Alexander (1946) who first openly and strongly questioned the value of techniques that, in his judgment, served only to gratify a client's dependent needs, promoting regression that he saw as the result of such gratifications. One might subject overreliance on Carkhuff's "empathy" principle to the same analysis and probably reach identical conclusions: for example, when discussing confrontation, Carkhuff & Berenson (1976) emphasize that confrontation must emerge from a genuine empathy concern. In addition, some recent research on counselor intervention suggested that a mixture of response styles was preferred to a single intervention of empathic, with a provision of feedback as a stimulus to client movement, (Brown, 1982). To describe a brief therapeutic relationship, one of the early innovators in the field (Malan, 1980) recently reflected that it constituted a:

> "Progressive reversal of the trend toward passivity set up originally by Freud. When a particular subject made a patient resistant and uncomfortable, the correct response was not to become passive and wait for further developments, but to challenge the defenses more and more forcefully. This inevitably aroused anger in the patient, which he would try to conceal and avoid in the characteristic ways he employed in his everyday life." (p. 17)

This could then be dealt with and linked with both past and current behavior (Mann & Goldman, 1982).

The challenge described above is also known as "confrontation" or "tickling the defenses" (Goldring, 1980). This is a counseling technique that generally is used improperly: that is, either too infrequently, or prematurely, or with much less than the necessary challenge (Leaman, 1978). The counselor actually forces a confrontation through the exposure of dramatic discrepancies between the counselee's self-justifying rationalizations and subverbal attitudes. The counselor who successfully uses this technique catalyses in the client the urge to explore these dramatic contradictions and discrepancies, or forces the need to examine them (Goldring, 1980).

Thus, confrontation, although minimized and overshadowed by current authorities such as Rogers and Carkhuff, actually should be the basic tool or technique in short-term counseling. Confrontation when used properly brings results that are frequently dramatic and always positive (Adler & Myerson, 1973), although the process itself may be painful for both parties (Adler & Myerson, 1973; Leaman, 1978). The relief experienced by the counselor once the inappropriate behavior is exposed, met, and conquered, is obvious. From this springs self-realization and usually an active participation and collaboration in the counseling process, which in turn soon produces problem resolution, and consequently obviates the counseling need.

At any rate, it is virtually impossible to exaggerate the importance of this approach. It provides a base, a rationale, and a pragmatic methodology for short-term, time-constrained counseling. It serves as the basis not only for employment counseling but also for counseling or therapy in almost all other agency settings as well. In addition, follow-up studies indicate that lasting changes in attitudes, relationships and behavior follow a brief exposure to such [counseling] with a significant alteration in [the individual's] capacity for work (Usden, 1975, p. 48).

Consequently, more and more short-term, time-constrained counseling is being predicted as the "wave of the future" (Strupp, 1980, p. 379) whose time has come!

If this is true, as I suggest it is, why then, in a recent issue of the *Journal of Employment Counseling* in an analysis of counselor verbal interventions taken from 54 tapes and some 2,300 plus responses, with 1/4 of the verbal skills accounting for *more* than 2/3 of the responses, with the areas of confrontation and interpretation rating 10 and 11 in the 12 point scale, is *confrontation*, in addition, rated as the least effective in the responses? Was this because of counselor discomfort or lack of confidence? *Or*, as the authors suggest, confrontation itself may be difficult (one reason, that few counselors have been systematically trained to use this skill), or it may be that counselors in the field tend to return to a power-based interaction style *or maybe*, as this author, a counselor/educator, suggests, it may be we (instructors) are not providing a suitable level of training for our students in advanced level skills such as confrontation (Brown, 1982, p. 129).

What appears to be needed now is a new realism concerning this treatment process in light of that which is feasible, practicable, cost-effective, and subject to accountability measurements. This, in turn, calls for a deepening and extension of the knowledge concerning the entire helping process and it's outcomes. Or, to paraphrase Barten (1971, p. 342):

Be not passive
Be not inactive
Be not reflective
Be not silent
But be aware

Harvey W. Trimmer, Jr. is Chief of Counseling and Special Services, Nevada Employment Security Department, Carson City, Nevada, U.S.A. In addition, he maintains a private practice and also serves as Director of Student Personnel Services for the Sierra Nevada Institute of Computer Sciences, also in Carson City, Nevada.

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How Canadians Use Their Time: Implications for Career Counselling

Andrew S. Harvey
Senior Research Fellow
Institute of Public Affairs
Dalhousie University

Introduction

Peavy (1982) answered the question "What do you think counselling is anyway?" by suggesting that it is social practice carried out to produce and to clarify "useful descriptive information about clients as they actually are; and useful descriptive information about their real life situations; and life history knowledge and cultural wisdom which people already possess in one form or another," for the purpose of making decisions and acting in goal directed ways. In short he is suggesting that counselling is the process of clarifying *if-then*. This message was strongly reinforced by Conrad Lecomte (1983).

The range of if-then situations which individuals face as they wend their way through life is mind-boggling and often beyond the coping ability of even the most astute and well informed individuals. This is not surprising, since the ability to successfully cope or choose typically requires that one knows with at least some certainty the constraints shaping the implications of any given decision. This further requires that one has either experienced the situation, or an analagous one, requiring the decision or is sufficiently acquainted in other ways, for example through education or reading, with the situation at hand.

It is categorically impossible for an individual to comprehend all the constraints on and implications of the many and wide ranging decisions one must make. Nor can one person be aware of all the opportunities available. Each individual will have areas of competence and ignorance. In areas of competence one can self-counsel, bearing in mind however that a lawyer defending himself has a fool for a client; in areas of ignorance one must depend on the counsel of others.

Both the individual and the counsellor must depend upon instruction in areas where they do not have experience. Yet,

where does one gain the knowledge of the reality of real life and the implications of real life decisions without experiencing them? Clearly, the answer is by observing and studying others living and experiencing them in their daily lives. A valuable tool for understanding at least the objective side of daily life is the time budget, which illucidates the implications of many of the more significant life decisions which individuals are called upon to make, for the use of time on a daily basis.

As with money, the use of time for one purpose precludes its use for another. Similarly, as the assumption of a mortgage determines the allocation of a portion of one's future inflow of funds, the decision to pursue a certain course of training, marriage, or having children determines the allocation on one's future use of time in nearly as rigid a fashion. To date we have had only nagging feelings about the temporal commitments attendant upon a multitude of decisions. However, the development and proliferation of time budget analysis over the past twenty years now makes it possible for us to quantify in more concrete but still speculative terms the temporal costs of commitments generated by many decisions. The counsellor should come to understand the significance of these time commitments, both for the individual and for society as a whole, since just as one's spending of money has an effect of the course of the economy so does one's expenditure of time. As it is necessary for government to understand the implications of monetary changes in order to properly guide the economy, it can be seen to be necessary to understand the implications of changes in time use. To do so will facilitate the creation and execution of manpower policy.

It is unlikely at this stage in our understanding of time allocation that I can dispel all doubts about the value of understanding time allocation or effectively counter all critics. We have just begun to understand the need to understand. We have neither the theory nor the data in sufficient quantity to implement brave new directions in manpower planning and vocational counselling. However, we do know enough for all but the most critical to appreciate the potential value of an improved understanding of time allocation.

My colleagues and I (Clark, Elliott and Harvey, 1980; Harvey, Elliott and Macdonald, 1983) have elsewhere pointed out the significance of the concept of role in determining the time allocation of individuals. Role indicates concern with the interplay between the individual and a group of social organizations. From this perspective, individuals occupy a number of statuses in which the expectations of others and their own expectations (presumably derived from previous

social contacts) interact with the person's skills and capacities appropriate to a role to result in enacted behaviour. At the outset it is necessary to understand that there are both subjective and objective aspects of behaviour which must be understood. Subjective aspects deal with the meaning of activities for individuals while the objective aspects relate to the manifest behaviour and its effect on the individual and society. Role theory allows one to make systematic connections between observed behaviour and subjective aspects of behaviour and to organize people s many discrete activities into meaningful collectivities based upon their statuses or roles. It is necessary to consider the roles people play in their social context, since actual behaviour may differ depending on the context in which it is located, e.g. single vs. two parent family.

As individuals pass through their life cycle they acquire, combine and drop roles. As this happens, the number and types of activities performed, the duration of activities and their social and physical settings change. People must fulfill roles in the family of orientation, in school, among their peer group, at work and in their chosen marital and parental circumstances. And beyond these they often assume roles in neighbourhood activities and organizations. An understanding of the temporal implications of each of these could make it possible for individuals to make more informed decisions at crucial points in their lives. This may be where counsellors enter the picture.

The Empirical Base

The recently completed Canadian National Time Use Pilot Project provides an opportunity to get an empirical perspective on the temporal implications of role occupancy. As has been pointed out elsewhere (Harvey, Elliott and Macdonald, 1983) the national pilot fails to provide all the information necessary to elucidate a wide range of family, work and social roles. It has, however, helped to identify directions to be followed in further work and it has provided sufficient data to make it possible to understand the time costs of role occupancy.

My objective here is to illustrate an approach rather than to perform an indepth analysis. Therefore I will simplify reality in two ways. First, I will restrict the empirical analysis to highly aggregated subpopulations, and secondly, I will work with highly aggregated, although meaningful activity groupings. At the subpopulation level I will examine groups organized around economic status determined in relation to the individual's key economic function, such as employed worker, homemaker, student. The activity groupings I am

using are currently being used in some experimental cross-national comparative work being undertaken by the OECD. The grouping format views all activity as falling into one of four categories: *contracted*, which is essentially work for pay; *committed*, which refers to work required to maintain a household and family; *necessary*, which refers to time required for self maintenance such as sleeping, eating and personal care; and *free time*, all time not included in the previous categories.

The Time Allocation of Canadians

Canadians 15 years of age and over devote on average 24 hours per week to paid work, 21 hours to home and family maintenance, 78 hours to personal maintenance, Table 1. This leaves 45 hours free for all other activities. In essence nearly half the week, 46.4 percent, is required for personal maintenance; slightly more than one quarter is required for market work and for home and family maintenance, 14.3 plus 12.5 percent respectively; and slightly more than one quarter of the week is free for other activities. These findings hold for both men and women, Table 1. The equivalence of overall workloads for men and women observed here reconfirms earlier findings of Clark and Harvey (1976). The essential difference between the sexes is reflected in the mix of work time. Each devotes approximately 26 percent of their week to work activities; however, the male's time is primarily devoted to market work while the female's time is primarily allocated to home and family maintenance. Males devote more than twice as much time, 31 compared with 14 hours, to paid work as to home and family maintenance, while females devote somewhat more than half as much time to paid work as to home and family maintenance, 17 compared with 27 hours, Table 1. In essence the male's time split is 70/30 in favour of paid work while the females time split is 60/40 in favour of non-market work.

TABLE 1

Time Allocation of Canadians 1981

	Males		Females		Total	
	Hours Per Week	%	Hours Per Week	%	Hours Per Week	%
Contracted Time	31	18.4	17	10.1	24	14.3
Committed Time	14	8.3	27	16.1	21	12.5
Necessary Time	77	45.8	79	47.0	78	46.4
Free Time	46	27.4	45	26.8	45	26.8
Total	168	100.0	168	100.0	168	100.0

Source: National Time Use Pilot Study.

Activity Classification

Contracted Time - Paid Work
Work Related
Work Travel

Committed Time - Household Work
Childcare

Necessary Time - Sleeping
Eating
Personal Care

Free Time - Education
Organization Participation
Entertainment and Social Life
Sports and Active Leisure
Passive Leisure

Employment Status and Time Use

An examination of relevant subpopulations provides considerably greater insight into the realities of time use for individuals in particular circumstances. A split based on main economic role is perhaps the best place to start. Examining first the allocations of employed males and females, it is evident that during the employment phase of one's life there is a bias away from the overall societal balance between work time and leisure, toward work and away from leisure. Males spend 31.5 percent of their time working (23.8 + 7.7) and only 23.2 percent in free time activities, Table 2. This split is slightly more pronounced for employed females, who devote nearly one third of the week to all work activities and only approximately one fifth to free time activities. The overall balance must thus be achieved by imbalances in favour of free time activities during periods of non-employment. Such periods are reflected in the time allocations of homemakers, Table 2, and the time allocations of students, unemployed members of the labour force, and retirees and others who are not in the labour force, Table 3. Homemakers find the scales tipped slightly in favour of free time activities, with 46 hours a week going to such activities in comparison with 44 hours devoted to paid and unpaid work, Table 2. While employed women spend a considerable amount of time on committed activities, it amounts to only one-half the amount spent by homemakers, Table 2. This finding is consistent with the findings of others regarding the effects of employment on the time allocation to housework and child care (Vanek, 1974, and Nickols, 1976).

TABLE 2

Allocation of Time by Selected Sub-Populations
Canada, 1981

	Employed Males		Employed Females		Home Makers	
	Hours Per Week	%	Hours Per Week	%	Hours Per Week	%
Contracted Time	40	23.8	34	20.2	2	1.2
Committed Time	13	7.7	21	12.5	42	25.0
Necessary Time	76	45.2	78	46.4	78	46.4
Free Time	39	23.2	35	20.8	46	27.4
Total	168	100.0	168	100.0	168	100.0

Source: Canadian National Time Use Pilot Study.

The scales are very clearly tipped in favour of free time activities for the unemployed, retirees and others. Males in these subpopulations allocate on average 61 hours a week to free time activities, Table 3. Retired and unemployed females devote somewhat less, but still considerable, time to free time activities, Table 3. The effects of unemployment are most evident in the time allocations of the unemployed to necessary and free time activities. Unemployed males devote an additional 7 hours a week more than the overall male average, and unemployed females 3 hours a week more than the overall female average time allocation to necessary activity. In terms of free time, unemployed males spend an additional 15 hours and unemployed females an additional 6 hours than the respective overall allocations to free time by males and females, as shown in Table 1. Thus the combined increase for the unemployed to necessary and free time activities is 22 hours for men and 9 hours for women. If we relate the unemployed to the employed rather than to the overall average we get a combined increase of time in necessary and free time activities of 30 hours for men and of 20 hours for women.

Students represent a special case of non-employed persons. They devote little time to contracted (paid work) or committed (household and family) activities as defined. However, study is in essence the contracted time of students. Few students would claim it is a free time activity, as the OECD categories would class it. If study is considered a part of the work time of students their time allocation to work is comparable to that of employed workers, Table 3. A distinguishing feature of the time use pattern of students is their low allocation of time to committed time activities. This undoubtedly reflects the fact that they live at home or are otherwise housed in a manner which demands relatively little from them in terms of household or family care. Also, as in the case of employed workers, female students have somewhat less free time than do males, Tables 2 and 3.

In essence, the foregoing suggests two realities. First, there appears to be an overall natural balance of 27 percent of time going to work and 27 percent to leisure. Currently, that balance appears to be achieved over an extended period as a consequence of membership in a variety of economic based subpopulations. Second, students clearly fall in line with employed workers in terms of the time allocation patterns when study is considered the equivalent of paid work.

There is little difference between men and women in the hours a week devoted to part time contracted work, with an allocation of 26 and 25 hours a week respectively, Table 4. The real difference between the two with respect to paid

TABLE 3

Time Allocation of Students, Unemployed and Retirees and Others Canada, 1981

	Students				Unemployed				Retired/Other			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Hours Per Week	Percent	Hours Per Week	Percent	Hours Per Week	Percent	Hours Per Week	Percent	Hours Per Week	Percent	Hours Per Week	Percent
Contracted	4	2.4	6	3.6	5	3.0	2	1.2	3	1.8	1	.6
Committed	7	4.2	11	6.5	18	10.7	31	18.5	22	13.1	28	16.7
Necessary	78	46.4	78	46.4	84	50.0	82	48.8	82	48.8	85	50.6
Study	34	20.0	36	21.4	1	.6	2	1.2	0	0	0	0
Free Time	44	26.2	37	22.0	61	36.3	51	30.4	61	36.3	55	32.7
Total	168	100.0	168	100.0	168	100.0	168	100.0	168	100.0	168	100.0

Source: Canadian National Time Use Pilot Study.

work, not manifest in Table 4, lies in the way those hours are accumulated over the week. Using the data on which the present analysis is based, it was found elsewhere (Harvey, Elliott and Macdonald, 1982) that for men part time meant fewer days per week while for females it meant fewer hours per day. The major differences in time use between the sexes are manifest in committed and free time. For men part time work, in contrast to full time, has little affect on committed time, primarily reflecting itself in a greatly increased allocation to free time activity. For women, on the other hand, the major allocative difference accrues as an increase of 10 hours a week in committed time with only a four hour increase in free time, Table 4. These findings suggest that for men part time work may accompany student status, with study accruing as a free time activity according to the OECD framework used here, while for women part time work may accompany either student or spousal-parental status.

TABLE 4

Time Allocation by Full and Part-time Workers by Sex, Canada, 1981

(Hours per week)

	Males		Females	
	Full	Part	Full	Part
Contracted	(41)	(26)	(37)	(25)
Committed	(13)	(12)	(19)	(29)
Total Work	54	38	56	54
Necessary	76	76	78	76
Free Time	38	54	34	38
Total	168	168	168	168

Source: National Time Use Pilot Study.

Family Status and Time Use

Family status represents another significant subpopulation base. Table 5 shows the allocation to contracted and committed time in terms of several family status situations and conveys a number of significant points. The first is the considerable time cost of children. In the case of couples, having children adds 12 hours a week to total work, contracted and committed, time. In the case of males 2 hours are added to

TABLE 5

Time Allocation to Contracted and Committed Work by Family Status Canada, 1981
(Hours per week)

	Males				Females			
	Contracted	Committed	Total	Percent of Weekly Time	Contracted	Committed	Total	Percent of Weekly Time
1 Ad - 0 Children	28	13	41	24.4	17	19	36	21.4
1 Ad - 1 + Children	35	21	56	33.3	25	28	53	31.5
Couple - 0 Children	30	14	44	26.1	16	26	42	25.0
Couple + Children	40	16	56	33.3	16	38	54	32.1
Other	24	10	34	20.2	19	17	36	21.4

Source: National Time Use Pilot Study.

the committed time and 10 to contracted time. For females, interestingly, contracted time does not change and the total 12 hours is added to committed time.

Although the conventional wisdom is that two can live as cheaply as one, this is certainly not true in time costs. For both males and females the switch from "batching it" to communal living adds to total work time, with the time cost for the woman being twice that for the man, 6 compared with 3 hours, Table 5. Males exhibited a slight increase in both contracted and committed time with the move to communal living, in contrast to the female who appears to experience a slight decrease in contracted time and a significantly larger increase in committed time.

Surprisingly, single adults with children do not appear to bear workloads significantly different from those they would bear as half of a couple with children. The time cost appears to be the presence of children, and being forced into the role of single parent does not change the total load but rearranges it between contracted and committed work. Here the effects on males and females are in clear contrast. For men, single parenthood means a reduction of 5 hours a week in contracted time and an offsetting increase of 5 hours in committed time as they are forced to pick up the work normally carried out by the spouse. Females experience a somewhat greater change in reverse showing a 10 hour reduction in committed time and a 9 hour increase in contracted time, Table 5.

It would appear that the real impact of single parenthood is felt through the speed of living. From observation of other data from the National Pilot, there appears to be more packed into a given hour by single parents. They registered more primary activities, multiple primary activities, secondary activities, multiple secondary activities and trips than did their counterparts in a two parent family.

Aging and Time Use

Thus far we have observed that the amount of time devoted to work activities is a function of the economic and family roles an individual occupies. However, to a great extent these roles are not unrelated to each other or to age, since both the nature of individuals and the expectations of society circumscribe much of the individual's lifecycle. Consequently, one can expect that the work demands on one's time may well be shaped by the aging process. This is in fact the case, as is evidenced in Table 6. In general the time allocation to work, for both men and women, first rises and then falls as one moves into and then out of the labour force. Interestingly, however, men and women appear to be on slightly different time trajectories as they move through life. Men start off

with a slightly lower allocation of time to paid work than women have. For both men and women, work time demands are highest through the ages 25 to 44 years, with the demands in the 35 to 44 year group being marginally higher than in the 25 to 34 year group. Clearly, the prime work years, as examined here, are from age 25 through age 44. By the time one reaches the 45 to 54 years age group a decline in work time has set in. For men the decline amounts to 3 hours a week, or approximately a half an hour a day, Table 6. For women the decline amounts to 7 hours a week or an hour a day, over twice the decline experienced by men. For both men and women the decline in contracted work is 2 hours, Table 6. The extra decline experienced by women is the result of a 5 hour a week decline in committed time compared with a 1 hour decline in committed time for men.

The significant tale concerning the time trajectories of men and women highlighted in Table 6 is the relative eveness of contracted and committed time demands over the years age 25 through 44 in the active population and the dominance of contracted work in the man's work life in contrast to the rather uneven course of women with respect to the mix of contracted and committed work over the life cycle. Only

TABLE 6

Time Allocation to Work Activities, by Sex and Age
Canada, 1981

(Hours per week)

Age	Males			Females		
	Contracted	Committed	Total	Contracted	Committed	Total
15–24	21	9	30	18	16	34
25–34	40	13	53	23	29	52
35–44	39	15	54	22	33	55
45–54	37	14	51	20	28	48
55–64	28	14	42	11	30	41
65 +	9	22	31	1	27	28

Source: National Time Use Pilot Study.

Note: If education, 15 hours for males and 14 hours for females is included in the contracted time for those aged 15 to 24 years, the resultant total work times for this group are 45 and 48 respectively.

in the youngest age group does the contracted work time of women come close to the contracted time allocation of men. By age group 55 to 64 the paid work time allocation for both men and women is down by an identical 9 hours a week and while men over 65 continue to allocate 9 hours to contracted activities women virtually drop such activity, allocating it only an hour a week, Table 6.

With the arrival of retirement age males, although experiencing a major drop in time allocated to contracted activity, still manage to engage in nearly as much such activity as do women in the 55 to 64 years age group and at the same time considerably increase their time allocation to committed time activities. Females, on the other hand, on reaching the retirement age decrease their time allocation to both types of work.

Changes in Time Use Over a Decade

While cross-sectional data provides some clues to the changes that can be expected to accompany the aging process, an understanding of such changes can be greatly improved by following the same people through time. We were fortunate to be able to do this in conjunction with the National Time Use Pilot Study because of the existance of extensive time use data for a sample of the Metropolitan Halifax population in 1971 (Elliott, Harvey, and Procos, 1976). That study collected 2,141 diaries for a random sample of the population over 17 years of age. In 1981 the value of reinterviewing a subsample of the 1971 sample was recognized by Employment and Immigration Canada and the Department of Communications and by Statistics Canada, and support was provided to relocate and reinterview over 450 of the 1971 respondents. The main early findings of this study are reported elsewhere (Harvey and Elliott, 1983).

Over the decade from 1971 to 1981 men and women in the Halifax Panel underwent a reallocation of approximately 6 hours a week, Table 7. Men experienced a decline of 6 hours in contracted time which they appear to have reallocated in equal proportions to committed and free time activities. For women, the major change was a decline in committed time, which for them constitutes their major activity, of 4 hours a week and a reallocation of the 4 hours to free time activity. Such change could reflect either general change experienced by all or it could reflect major changes in the time allocation of a few. In reality the changes reflect a bit of both. Approximately half of the major changes are the result of changes in the status of a few individuals as they move into or out of employment while the remainder of the shift would appear to be attributable to other forces.

TABLE 7

Changes in Time Allocation, 1971 to 1981
Halifax, Total Panel

	Male			Female		
	1971	1981	Change	1971	1981	Change
Contracted	41	35	- 6	19	20	1
Committed	14	17	+ 3	38	34	- 4
Necessary	73	74	+ 1	74	72	- 2
Free Time	40	43	+ 3	38	42	+ 4

Source: Halifax Panel Study.

Changes do not balance due to rounding.

An interesting result of the panel study was the finding that an identical number of panel members were employed in 1971 and 1981 in spite of the fact that a number of panel members had ceased working and a number had started working. There was a decline in the number of males employed and an increase in the number of females employed. In total there were 293 employed in each of the years and of that number 148 men and 75 women were employed in both years. The time reallocation of this group appears to be less than was registered by the overall sample. The major change for employed men was a decline of 3 hours a week in contracted time and the apparent general redistribution of the time among the other time uses, Table 8. In contrast, contracted time for employed women increased slightly and their major time change was a decline of 4 hours a week devoted to necessary time, most of which appears to have been reallocated to free time, Table 8.

Implications for Counselling

In the foregoing I have shown that the roles one occupies at various stages of one's life cycle affect the allocation of time to various activities. It was shown that one's allocation of time is affected by economic status (employment, homemaking, student etc.) sex, family status, and age. Analysis of variance examinations, not detailed here, suggest that each of these factors significantly affect time allocations to various activities even after controlling for the others. Combined, however, they account for only one-third to one-half the total

TABLE 8

Changes in Time Allocation, 1971 to 1981
Persons Employed in Both Years

	Male			Female		
	1971	1981	Change	1971	1981	Change
Contracted	47	44	- 3	41	42	1
Committed	13	14	1	24	24	0
Necessary	72	72	0	73	69	- 4
Free Time	36	37	1	30	33	3

Source: Halifax Panel Study, 1981.

Changes do not balance due to rounding.

variance. Thus more work needs to be done to improve our explanatory power.

The most interesting and impelling observation in the foregoing is the equivalence between men and women in their overall workload and the consistency in time differences attendant with differences in various role variables. For example, each partner in a couple with children allocates 12 hours more to work than do partners with no children. For both men and women, the workload peaks in the 35–44 age group. Both men and women register a 9 hour a week decline in contracted time as they move from the 35–44 age group to the 55–64 age group. For both, committed time tends to increase as they move towards the 45–54 age group. For women the change in committed time tends to be rather onerous at 13 hours as they move from the 15–24 to the 25–34 age group. This compares with a 4–hour a week increase for males similarly placed. An examination of panel data suggests that over the decade of the 1970s the time allocation of the Halifax Panel shifted as a result of movement into and out of employment and for other reasons as well. It would appear that the former accounted for half of the reallocation of time while all other forces accounted for the other half. What is clear is that there are a number of regularities in the use of time which could be helpful to vocational counsellors and to the planning of work and careers if they were more fully understood. In order to better understand them we need both larger samples and longitudinal samples.

There is a little story that tells of a worker who had passed through the plant gate more than a hundred times with a wheelbarrow full of sand. Each time the guards carefully

searched the sand for stolen tools. When pressed the worker admitted to an inquisitive friend that he had been stealing wheelbarrows. The point is that the guards had been so caught up in the content that they missed the container. In a similar manner, there is the danger that in counselling one may be so concerned with jobs and abilities, aptitudes and interests that one misses the salience of the context in which the counselee is located and in which the job must be executed. Demands on time are a major element of the counselee's context. They are part of the "useful descriptive information about clients as they actually are" referred to by Peavy. As we come to understand better the temporal constraints or opportunities they may engender we will better understand the "if-then".

For example, necessary time is highly invarient across economic status groups other than the unemployed running 76 to 78 hours a week. Thus if one goes to work one must take the work time from one's committed and free time. The data suggests, examining Tables 2 and 3, that if a homemaker were to become employed then two-thirds of the contracted time can be expected to come from committed time. It has been repeatedly observed that her committed time will be cut in half. This means that in order to avoid what I have elsewhere (Harvey, 1982a) referred to as role/status conflict she must experience a sizable decrease in the committed time demanded of her or she must be able to meet the demands in ways that do not overly tax her time fund.

The "empty nest" syndrome is typically seen to provide a sufficient relaxation of demand for committed time that women can engage in contracted activity in the market. However, the time use data do not indicate such a reallocation of time. What is shown is that the probability of a woman engaging in contracted work declines monotonically from age 35 as does actual time spent, as shown in Table 6. Thus reality does not match expectations. In the first place the presence or absence of children in conjugal households was shown to have on average no effect on women's allocation of time to the market. In the second place, while the absence of children in such a situation was manifest in a 12 hour decrease in committed work time, a homemaker considering employment must find 23 hours a week for part time contracted work and 35 hours for full time work. In addition it is highly likely that she will need to tool or retool in order to enter the workforce, for the data show that although with increasing age females are more and more likely to be engaged in education than are men, homemakers participate the least, spending an average of less than one hour a week. The implications of time use data are that being a student is itself

clearly an occupation, with all the attendant time demands. For example, a homemaker with children spends 140 hours a week at home; married female students spend 105 hours, 2 hours less than employed women, at home, a difference of 35 hours a week. Additionally, the switch from homemaker with no children to student reduces time with spouse by 15 hours a week, and the switch to employment reduces it 9 hours a week; and this occurs at a time when men's work time is decreasing as, in Super's terms (Super, 1983) they move into a maintenance period. I, and I suspect many of you, know of marriages which have gone sour partly as a result of the unanticipated changes the wife's return to study inflicted on the marriage.

In short, the time use data imply that currently over the life span men and women devote approximately the same amount of time to work and leisure. For men the path is relatively straight and true; there is an arrow of time. For women, however, the course through life may take many turns and these tend to be out of phase with the few changes experienced by men.

Super presented a chart showing the cycling and recycling of developmental tasks throughout the life span (Super, 1983). Cousellors need to know more about the time elements of that process, both in quantity and timing. It appears that women experience the most and hardest recycling as they attempt to pursue a market career, a career as a homemaker, and later return to the market and their cycle is somewhat out of phase with that of their husband. If this is not recognized it may create marital strain. It is not impossible that forces such as I have been discussing are a major contributor to marital breakdown as women increasingly want and need to stay in the labour force but find their lives out of phase with their husband's. If counsellors are going to counsel people with respect to careers *then* they must solidly set those careers in the context of their life paths.

Prepared for Employment and Immigration Canada, Ninth National Consultation on Vocational Counselling, Conference Centre, 2 Rideau Street, Ottawa, January 25-27, 1983.

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Assessing and Counselling the Antisocial Client

D.A. Andrews
Department of Psychology
Carleton University, Ottawa

Introduction

The three main sections of this paper will briefly review counselling practices with antisocial clients, *very* briefly review assessment procedures and, finally, identify the link between assessment and counselling practices which may affect outcome. Each section is a summary of a number of research reports and reviews of the correctional counselling literature which are available elsewhere. Those original reports and the review papers include many technical details on the interventions studied, the assessment instruments employed, and the settings in which the studies were conducted. Such detail is often crucial when one wants to generalize findings. For this reason, the principles reviewed in this paper are highly general ones since educational, guidance and employment settings differ in some very important ways from prison and probation settings. Whatever the counselling setting, the trends reviewed in this paper raise important questions, generating active research issues.

By focussing on counselling practices and the assessment of clients I do not mean to imply that the counsellor and the client are totally responsible for the "success" or "failure" of a counselling effort. Socio-cultural and political-economic factors, in the community at large and within the agency itself, set limits on what individual counsellors and their clients can hope to achieve (Andrews, 1982a; Andrews and Kiessling, 1980; Kiessling and Andrews, 1980). Office policy, the resources made available to an agency and the styles of managers may actively encourage or discourage the setting and achievement of counselling goals. While these extra-counselling factors may constitute very important targets for change, in the immediate counselling situation they are not normally within the range of influence of a counsellor. In the immediate situation of counselling the counsellor does have some control over the specific practices involved in assessment and counselling and these are the focus of this paper.

The Dimensions of Effective Correctional Counselling

Reviewers of the correctional effectiveness literature can identify five sets of studies:

1. Research methods are so weak it is impossible to make any reasonably convincing conclusions regarding the effectiveness of the interventions evaluated;
2. Research methods which approximate the ideals of classical experimental designs, but these studies were unable to demonstrate any effects of intervention;
3. Studies which provide reasonably convincing evidence that the programs had definite effects: the counselling procedures employed managed to increase crime;
4. Studies which show the chances of recidivism (recurrences of criminal behaviour) were reduced by way of participation in counselling;
5. Studies which suggest that the neutral, positive, or negative effects of counselling depend upon both the type of counselling offered and the type of client.

The dominant response in the 1960's and early 70's to such an array of studies was some variation on the "nothing works" theme made popular by Martinson (1974) and, I think, too quickly accepted by those scholars devoted to political-structural interpretations of criminal behaviour and those politicians looking for an easy target in their desire to reduce expenditures. However, as the studies in sets three, four and five suggest there exists a clear alternative to the "nothing works" theme. Counselling is not a unitary phenomenon; some counselling practices are ineffective while other approaches are powerful (some in the positive sense and some in the negative sense). Our hypothesis is straight-forward. There existed important differences in types of counselling in those studies which yield no effects, negative effects and positive effects.

Types of counselling, or the specifics of counselling practice, can be classified in many ways. Two broad sets of practices, or principles of interpersonal influence, are evident in both general social psychological and counselling literature.

The Relationship Principle

The extent to which people learn from each other is in part a function of the quality of the interpersonal relationship they share. Generally the amount of learning or influence increases with the levels of openness, warmth, understanding, and concreteness of expression. This principle, and associated practices and perceptions, is evident under a variety of labels: the CORE conditions, (Rogers, 1957); facilitative

conditions (Carkhuff, 1971); cohesiveness (Cartwright, 1951); the expressive or socio-emotional dimension (in general social psychology); intimacy (Sutherland and Cressey, 1966); social validity (Wolf, 1978). From a social learning perspective, relationship factors have to do with the quality of the rewards and costs at the disposal of a counsellor, the potency of the counsellor as a model, and the value of the counsellor as one to be sought or avoided. (Andrews, 1979a,b; 1980).

The Contingency Principle

What people learn from each other depends upon what is being modelled or demonstrated, what is reinforced, and what opportunities are made available by way of interpersonal exchanges. The contingency principle reflects phrases such as task orientation (Cartwright, 1951); action orientation (Carkhuff, 1971); offering relevant knowledge and skills (Krumholtz, 1966); the instrumental dimension (in general social psychology); and, of course, teaching and coaching. In the analysis of correctional counselling, we look for those more directive elements of counselling which may be actively promoting or actively discouraging future criminal activity.

In sum, the relationship principle suggests that the more open and warm the communication conditions the greater the chances of interpersonal influence. The contingency principle suggests that the direction of influence, procriminal or anticriminal, depends upon the procriminal versus anticriminal content of the communications, the skills taught and rehearsed, etc. One classification of the more directive elements of counselling in corrections is as follows: (Andrews, 1979a,b).

1. *Authority:* the extent to which the counsellor makes use of the authority inherent in his/her position. Authority reduces to making the formal rules and sanctions which are in effect within an agency explicit and understood.
2. *Modelling and Differential Reinforcement:* the extent to which the counsellor makes vivid and concrete anticriminal versus procriminal attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviour patterns.
3. *Problem Solving:* the identification of current problem areas. Involving the client in the process of generating, evaluating, selecting, implementing, and testing various alternative solutions.
4. *Advocacy/brokerage activities:* linking the client with anticriminal agencies and settings and monitoring the client-setting exchanges for evidence that the setting is acting in the interests of the client.

In general terms, ineffective programs are those which fail on one or both of these dimensions: poor quality relationships and/or a failure to establish anticriminal contingencies. Positively effective programs are characterized by an emphasis on the relationship principle in combination with the establishment of anticriminal contingencies. Negatively effective programs have established procriminal contingencies under high quality relationship conditions.

I am not going to review the increasing number of examples of positive programs in corrections. We have reviewed them elsewhere and the Ross and Gendreau collection (1980) includes many more recent examples. However, I am going to review some of the more dramatic examples of actively negative programs in order to underscore the point that to emphasize the relationship principle at the expense of the contingency principle is to invite increased criminal behaviour.

The Milieu Approaches

Craft, Stephenson and Granger (1964) compared a self-governing group therapy unit for hospitalized adolescent psychopaths with a more firm and paternalistic, authoritarian unit. Post-discharge follow-up revealed that the residents discharged from the self-governing unit had a significantly higher recidivism rate than did the other group. The Matsqui experiment, as documented by Murphy (1972), compared an intensive group dynamics program, including academic upgrading, with a more routine prison program for incarcerated drug addicts. Process measures demonstrated that residents of the intensive unit were engaged in more group activity and that communication within the intensive groups was more open relative to groups in the routine program. However, on follow-up, the residents parolled from the intensive unit engaged in more illegal use of drugs and earned more illegal dollars than did residents parolled from the routine prison program. Grant and Grant (1959) established a living unit system for navy and marine offenders. The treatment strategy was to establish close, continuing relationships within the units. The effect of the program appeared to depend upon the extent to which the unit supervisors were able to establish the desired treatment conditions and upon the maturity level of the offenders. Among low maturity offenders, the "better" the supervisors were judged to be, the poorer the post-release adjustment.

Peer-Oriented Group Counselling

Similar, albeit less dramatic, results have been found in systematic investigations of group counselling within prison settings. Mann (1955) evaluated a group therapy program in

which a focus was the attitudes and feelings of delinquent boys toward themselves and toward the therapist. Mann was unable to demonstrate any significant effects of treatment. In fact, an attempt to sharpen the peer orientation by having the boys lead the groups themselves resulted in "chaos". Wayne (1972) attempted to establish positive relationships within counselling groups while also introducing a systematic and structured approach to discussions of rationalizations for law violations. Wayne was also unable to discover treatment effects and noted that the criminal peers were "solid" in their procriminal orientation. Truax, Wargo and Volksdorf (1970) were able to show that delinquents in counselling groups with interpersonally skilled non-delinquent leaders showed more positive changes than did delinquents in groups with less interpersonally skilled leaders. Note, however, that the interpersonal skill factor was measured with reference to the non-delinquent leader and not with reference to the interpersonal functioning of the clients. The study included another variable of more direct relevance to the question at hand. For half of the counselling groups, the number of sessions was doubled through the addition of sessions in which the leader (the non-criminal other) was absent. Those groups showed significantly poorer outcome than did the regular counselling groups. The largest scale evaluation of group counselling in prisons is that of Kassebaum, Ward and Milner (1971). They examined Fenton's (1960) approach to group counselling which placed considerable emphasis upon open communication among participants and minimal direction from the formal leaders. They varied the size of the groups and other factors but there was no evidence for the effectiveness of treatment.

Peer-oriented Counselling in the Community

Evidence on the questionable value of the "procriminal friend" approach is also available from community-based programs. Faust's (1965) data indicated that group counselling of probationers, again with an emphasis on open communication, was no more effective than routine one-to-one probation. Empey and Erickson (1972) were unable to demonstrate the post-probation value of a complex and sophisticated guided group interaction program relative to routine probation. Similarly, the guided group interaction programs within the Community Treatment Project do not appear to be as effective as a more individualized differential treatment approach (Palmer, 1971). Not all of the guided group studies reviewed by Stephenson and Scarpitti (1974) are of equal methodological sophistication but it is clear that production of favourable impact on criminal indices was not greatly aided by the

emphasis on relationship without simultaneously establishing an anticriminal structure. Klein's (1971) report on a street-worker program is even more direct in its implications. Street-workers had variable success in increasing the cohesiveness of what they found were rather loosely-organized street gangs; however, the more cohesive the groups the *greater* the evidence of antisocial behaviour.

One-to-one Programs in the Community

The Cambridge-Somerville Youth study of the 1930's (Powers and Witner, 1951) still stands as one of the major investigations of the value of a one-to-one directed friendship between a noncriminal other and a delinquent (or predelinquent) boy. The study was massive. Six hundred and fifty boys, all judged to be predelinquent, were formed into matched pairs and then randomly assigned to the experimental and control conditions. The experimental treatment was probably best described as companionship therapy and the average duration of the one-to-one relationship was from five-to-six years. The control condition was simply non-assignment to a designated counsellor, i.e. control boys did not have the *programmed* opportunity to enter into a one-to-one relationship with a mature adult. The findings were decidedly discouraging. There were no significant effects of treatment on subsequent arrest records of the subjects as either boys (Powers and Witner, 1951) or adults (McCord and McCord, 1959). However, several reviewers of the Cambridge-Somerville Study have noted that there were wide variations in the actual treatment the boys received. McCord and McCord (1959) found some evidence that frequency of contact and quality of relationship indices were predictive of positive outcome but their after-the-fact reanalyses of the data were unconvincing.

Goodman (1972) designed and evaluated a companionship program which overcame many of the problems which made the Cambridge-Somerville results difficult to interpret. Goodman's program was more clearly an evaluation of relationship-models of helping. The nonprofessional male counsellors who formed one-to-one relationships with "troubled" boys were college students selected and screened-in on the basis of their highly developed interpersonal skills. The pre-service training program for the counsellors included explicit directions to focus on establishing a "meaningful relationship", to avoid "strategies" and "treatment", to see their boys often (two or three times a week minimum) for visits of at least one hour duration each. To further enhance the value of the study, half of the counsellors also participated in weekly inservice training sessions. The inservice training

sessions focused on further development of interpersonal skills such as empathic understanding. Overall, in terms of the selection and training of counsellors and in terms of the program guidelines, Goodman's design provided a strong test of the pure relationship model of helping. The "troubled boys" in Goodman's Study were not necessarily predelinquent but were judged by peers, teachers and parents as being unmanageable, attention-seeking and socially isolated. The boys, aged ten to eleven years, were matched and randomly assigned to the one-to-one companionship program or to a non-participant control condition. One problem with the study was that the control boys, or their parents, might have sought out other forms of treatment and evidence was presented that some in fact did.

For all the care and attention to detail evident in the Goodman project, the *overall* results were no more encouraging than those of the Cambridge-Somerville project — in fact, the results were clearly discouraging. In terms of parents' reports on standardized indices, it appeared that the control boys became more manageable and mannerly while participating boys became less so. Such impact might be considered positive for withdrawn boys but less likely so for boys whose "trouble" to begin with was their unmanageability and restlessness. In fact, the trend favoring the control boys was most evident among those very boys who had presented "out-going" problems at the start of the project. The results recall the suggestion from social learning theory that warmth and support may only increase inappropriate behaviours when not offered in a manner contingent upon more appropriate behaviours.

The conclusion is further supported by the results of the comparison of counsellors who received the extra inservice empathy and self-disclosure training relative to those counsellors who only received preservice training. Relative to the boys with the other counsellors, the boys with counsellors who received special training reported that they knew more about their counsellor's feelings and felt that their counsellors understood their feelings more. However, the boys with the trained counsellors became still more aggressive and less mannerly according to parents' reports.

The pattern of results evident in the studies just reviewed has been found in our own research and that of our colleagues and students. For example, in one study of group counselling with penitentiary inmates we found a positive correlation between the inmates ratings of favourable relationship conditions within the groups and *procriminal* attitude change (Andrews, 1980; Andrews, Farmer and Hughes, 1976). In other counselling groups in that same study we

found that favourable relationship conditions were associated with anticriminal attitude change. In the latter set, citizen volunteers were co-participants in the groups and provided some explicit anticriminal content which was missing from the group composed of immates only. When the *content* of communications is procriminal, we should expect procriminal learning to increase with the *quality* of communication conditions.

A study in adult probation services produced a similar pattern of results (Andrews and Kiessling, 1980). In this study, probation officers (primarily citizen volunteers) were pretested on their "natural" abilities to establish high quality relationship conditions and to communicate relatively anticriminal versus procriminal messages. The measures were the Hogan Empathy Scale — a measure of sensitivity to persons and their wishes, feelings and expectations — and the Gough Socialization Scale — a measure of sensitivity to conventional rules and procedures of a generally anticriminal and prosocial orientation. Typically, a sensitivity to persons and a sensitivity to conventional rules and procedures are independent attributes; knowing that a person is low or high on empathy gives no indication of where that person stands on a measure of socialization.

Neither the empathy level nor the socialization level of probation officers related to the recidivism rates of their probationers when empathy and socialization were examined in isolation from each other. What was important was the combination of empathy and socialization. Among the less conventionally-oriented officers, high empathy was associated with high recidivism rates: 30% (high empathy officer) versus 16% (low empathy officer). Among the more anticriminal officers, the higher their empathy the lower the recidivism rate of their probationers: 15% (high empathy officer) versus 42% (low empathy officer). A three year post-probation follow-up continues to show that the lowest recidivism rates are found among probationers assigned to officers who presented dual sensitivity to persons *and* to conventional rules and procedures.

This section of the paper has suggested that some of the variability in the outcomes of correctional counselling programs can be traced to how the relationship and the contingency principles of interpersonal influence were put into practice. The next section explores another major source of variability in outcomes: characteristics of the clients.

Assessment

Discussions of assessment in correctional counselling usually focus upon the impressive work of Quay, Megargee, Palmer,

Warren, Jessness and others who have operated in the personality tradition. However, I would like to focus instead on an approach which appears more directly relevant to recidivism, a major outcome variable in corrections. The approach I refer to is that of risk/needs assessment. "Risk" assessments refer to assessments of the chances of recidivism. "Needs" refer to those risk indicators which are dynamic (rather than fixed), which are ethically and reasonably amenable to influence and which, if successfully influenced, would be associated with a reduced chance of recidivism. A comprehensive risk/needs assessment might well include traditional psychometric components. However, it is very clear that socio-historical information obtained from interviewers and official records can be quantified readily and will yield validity estimates of impressive magnitude (Barton and Jenkins, 1973; Jenkins and Sanford, 1972; Baird et al., 1979; Rogers, 1981; Gendreau et al., 1980; Andrews, 1982b).

The Level of Supervision Inventory (LSI), developed in the Ottawa Probation and Parole office, is a 58 item quantitative survey of attributes of offenders and their situations relevant to level of supervision decisions. Level of supervision, often classified as minimum, medium or maximum, refers to the amount of time and agency resources to be devoted to the supervision of an individual probationer. The decisions certainly reflect the formal conditions of probation as specified by the court and also risk and need for services. The total score is derived from these 58 items, each in a "zero-one" format, distributed across eleven areas:

Criminal History (10 items)	.44 Eta (n = 129)
Education/Employment (10)	.54
Financial (2)	.25
Family/Marital (4)	.35
Accommodation (3)	.25
Leisure/Recreation (2)	.37
Companions (5)	.45
Alcohol/Drug Problems (9)	.28
Emotional/Personal (5)	.37
Probation Conditions (4)	.25
Attitudes/Orientation (4)	.31
Total LSI (58)	.70

The ETA values noted above are measures of the strength of association between LSI Statistics and the outcome of probation supervision. Outcome was coded as early termination (a highly probable outcome) versus recidivism (any evidence of a reconviction).

That problems in the various areas of living sampled by the LSI are related to criminal behaviour is not real news.

What is relatively new is that probation officers now have an empirical base for the decision to direct scarce resources to those most at risk and in greatest need.

Consider the following recidivism rates found with the first 265 probationers in our research sample whose present probation had come to an official end:

Very high LSI score:	75.0% (12/ 16)
High LSI score:	48.5% (48/ 99)
Moderate LSI score:	16.7% (8/ 48)
Low LSI score:	7.8% (8/102)

In one three year follow-up study, that subgroup with two or more reconvictions (24% of the total sample) accounted for 85% of the official reconvictions in the total sample. Among the 76 probationers above with an official reconviction, 27 were convicted more than once. This group is interesting because they are the more criminally active. Clearly, the more criminally active were falling in the high LSI score categories:

Very high	66.7% (8/12)
High	37.5% (18/48)
Moderate	12.5% (1/ 8)
Low	0.0% (0/ 8)

The same pattern of results is evident with measures of official undetected self-reported criminal activity and hence the LSI is not just measuring a propensity to get caught or any bias in the criminal justice system.

The obvious suggestion is that risk/needs assessments allow correctional counsellors to identify those offenders most likely to profit from services. This, however, is a tricky suggestion! There has long been a suspicion that mental health services only work with the healthy and that casework is only effective with those who *don't* need it. This position is called the "casework paradox" or the YAVIS syndrome: services are helpful to the young, attractive, verbal, intelligent, and successful but useless with the more troubled or troublesome clients. This is the issue of differential treatment, or type-of-client by type-of-treatment interactions and leads directly to the third section of the report.

Assessment and Counselling: Differential Intervention

There is a fatal flaw in the logic of the "casework paradox" of the YAVIS syndrome. A risk/needs assessment (at least a valid one) will succeed in identifying groups of clients with lower versus higher chances of successful outcome. However, such a demonstration of validity is quite different from the suggestion that the program involving low and high risk par-

ticipants was effective only with the low risk cases. One equally logical possibility is that the lower risk cases would have done as well, or better, without any services and it was the higher risk cases who were profiting from the program. A test of differential treatment hypotheses requires that two or more approaches to intervention be compared, once when offered to one type of client and again when offered to another type of client. The research approach required is illustrated in Table 1 with the figures representing the percent of low and high risk probationers who recidivated when offered intensive versus nonintensive supervision.

Inspection of Table 1 reveals that the lower risk group had lower recidivism rates than did the higher risk group in both the intensive and nonintensive programs. However, it appeared to be the high risk probationers who were profiting from the intensive services. Type of treatment had no significant impact on the recidivism rates of the low risk probationers.

TABLE 1

The Recidivism Rates of Low and High Risk Probationers Assigned to Intensive and Nonintensive Supervision Programs

	Type of Service		
Risk level	Non Intensive (n)	Intensive (n)	*p*
High Risk	58.5% (of 23)	31.0 (34)	.03
Low Risk	10.5 (62)	16.6 (58)	*ns*

Note: Table recreated from Andrews, Kiessling et al. (1979). The high risk group was comprised of young probationers scoring below the median on Gough Socialization. The *p* values are based on an analysis of simple effects with sex as a covariate.

Similar results were evident in an evaluation of a work furlough program for prisoners (Jeffrey and Woolpert, 1974) and in the Wisconsin experiment on differential supervision (Baird et al., 1979). An evaluation of a delinquency prevention program for children with behaviour problems has suggested that the program was reducing arrest rates for the high risk children but actually increasing arrest rates of lower risk children (O'Donnell et al., 1979). The O'Donnell et al. (1979) study points out that any program may contain criminogenic features; why risk exposing low need cases to such potential harm?

It might well be the case that some types of counselling or service are only effective with the low risk cases but I have yet to see any evidence of such a trend in the correctional area. The dominant finding is that psycho-social services, if effective at all, are equally effective for all types of clients or most effective with the moderate and high risk cases.

Some of our own studies have evaluated objective measures of the counselling behaviour of probation officers during audio-taped sessions with their probationers. We have measured their use of authority, anticriminal modeling, problem solving, and advocacy/brokerage activities. Over a three year postprobation follow-up period, high scores on each of these measures were associated with reduced recidivism. Most notably, the trends were stronger among the high risk cases than among the low risk cases.

The earlier discussion of counselling practices suggested that a reliance upon non-directive relationship approaches was *actively* ineffective with some antisocial clients. Our objective measure of probation officers "active listening" (paraphrasing substance and reflecting feelings) was associated with increased recidivism. The officer's use of such a non-directive approach was a particularly negative sign for outcome among the high risk cases. In brief, we found that the use of positively potent approaches was more strongly associated with reduced recidivism among the higher risk cases than among the lower risk cases. At the same time, the use of negatively potent approaches, such as a reliance upon relationship strategies, was most strongly associated with increased recidivism among the higher risk cases.

At the present time, the assessments of correctional clients which appear most relevant to differential treatment decisions are those of the risk/needs type. However, assessment of the interpersonal sensitivity of the client also appears to be important. In contrast to some other researchers, we have not found the empathy level of offenders to be a particularly strong predictor of criminal activity. However, we have found that the more interpersonally sensitive offenders are less likely than their less empathic peers to respond negatively to relationship-oriented approaches and, in fact, may respond positively. Our hypothesis is that interpersonally sensitive offenders will pick up and act upon the more subtle anticriminal messages communicated by the worker. The less sensitive offender, and in particular the high risk-low empathy offender, responds best to the less subtle counselling efforts involved in the authority and concrete problem-solving models.

Conclusions

This review of studies from corrections has suggested that the absolute limits on the goals and the success of any counselling program are defined by broad socio-political and organizational factors over which individual counsellors and clients have little immediate control. Within these limits, some of the variability in counselling outcomes may be traced to variations on the relationship and contingency dimensions of counselling. We have suggested that some corrections best documented and more dramatic examples of the failure of intervention do not support the "nothing works" theme. Rather, they may be seen as examples of the power of counselling and the need to attend to both the relationship and contingency principles. Another source of variability in correctional outcomes is the risk/needs level of offenders. The ability to predict recidivism well above chance levels has been demonstrated by many investigators. The third source of variability in outcome involves linking different types of clients to the most appropriate forms of service. As we have attempted to show, the weight of the research evidence runs counter to the myth that psychosocial services are only "effective" with those who least need them. Our own studies suggest that both the positive and the negative elements of counselling reveal themselves most clearly when working with higher risk clients. In addition, it may be only with the most interpersonally sensitive clients that one can reasonably hope that the more subtle anticriminal messages will be received — and then only in the context of a high quality relationship. Andrews and Kiessling (1980, p. 403) have provided a profile of the effective correctional counsellor and the practices of that counsellor. A sensitivity to conventional rules and procedures is combined with a warm, flexible and sensitive interpersonal style. When such counsellors make use of the authority inherent in their positions, demonstrate vividly their own prosocial values and behaviour, and enthusiastically engage their clients in the process of increasing rewards for noncriminal activity, a reduction in the chances of recidivism may be expected. Counsellors share with clients the responsibility for the quality of the relationship but the counsellors cannot escape responsibility for the immediate contingencies of counselling which may actively promote or discourage positive outcomes.

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A paper prepared for the Ninth National Consultation on Vocational Counselling, Ottawa, January, 1983. The reviews of the literature and the original research summarized in this paper were made possible by the support of a number of organizations: the Community and the Research Divisions of the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Service; the Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canada; Canada Council; Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council; Law Reform Commission. Portions of this paper draw directly upon materials published as monographs by the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services, (Andrews, 1979 a,b).

Counselling: Structures, Tasks, Skills (1)

R. V. Peavy
Department of Psychological Foundations
University of Victoria
Victoria, B. C.

Introduction

Counselling within an institutional context has certain defining characteristics which should be taken into account. First, it is usually *time-limited*. Employment counsellors, for example, are normally expected to maintain a fairly fixed interview schedule which means that the amount of time available for each interview is *limited*; further that the *number* of interviews which each counsellee can expect to have is also limited. These time considerations mean that institutional counselling takes on the characteristic of *planned brevity*.

A second feature of institutional counselling is that strong emphasis is placed upon *goal-attainment*, or, one might say, upon favourable outcome (quick, favourable outcome!). This means that interviews are focused upon job *placement*, for example; or upon *selection* of a training program; or upon establishing *eligibility* for benefits, etc. Interviews are inevitably guided to some extent by the mission or mandate of the institution.

A third dimension of institutional counselling is that clients are *not always voluntary clients*. Some clients do seek counselling voluntarily, but other clients are *referred*, still others are *required* to receive counselling. This means that an institutional counsellor will face a range of clients from the willing, eager-for-counselling client to the reluctant, resistant, even hostile client who appears in the counselling office only because ordered to. Clients differ a great deal in their willingness and ability to benefit from counselling. Certain clients not only appear voluntarily for counselling but they also have good personal resources. They are articulate, they enjoy "talking things over", have some problems-solving ability, they value self-direction. In short, they are easy, enjoyable and rewarding to counsel with. At the other end of the continuum are non-voluntary clients who may also be

(1) This paper is part of a more lengthy work on *A Participative Pedagogy for Training Counsellors* and formed the basis for a workshop conducted by Dr. R.V. Peavy at the *consultation*.

skill-deficient, hostile, inarticulate, suspicious and obstinate. In short, they may be exceedingly frustrating, demanding, and stressful to work with.

Within an institution counsellors are usually expected to work with the full range of clients, to work quickly and favourably with all types of clients. This is an unrealistic expectation, yet it is often the expectation which counsellors find themselves confronted with, especially in institutional departments where cost-effective management predominates.

The training of counsellors should be organized so as to provide trainees with counselling tools for working where planned brevity, goal-attainment and a wide range of clients are the order of the day.

Counselling certainly should be something more than an effective method of "processing" people through a bureaucracy. There is a need for counselling to remain a process within which clients have some say about their predicaments, a process which allows for true decision-making and not simply decision-imposition. Clients are people with needs, feelings, hopes, concerns and personal destinies. Some compromise is required in the training of institutional counsellors so that counsellors are equipped to do more than "process" clients, yet be able to work realistically within an organizational environment which requires efficient and effective use of time and resources to achieve goals.

One solution to this dilemma is to train counsellors so that they acquire the necessary skills to *support the counselling process with its personal elements*; while at the same time carrying out problem-solving (decision-making) with speed and effectiveness. It is unlikely that any system[2] of counselling will suffice without the presence of counsellors who have been trained to work both personally *and effectively under* time limits. The key ingredients for counselling success are, in my opinion, *counsellor skills* (and accompanying *attitudes*) together with *system* elements. System elements such as referral process, hierarchy of authority, policy etc., are quite important, of course, but they are not sufficient. A well-designed counselling system will collapse without trained counsellors to see that the day to day functions of the system are carried out for the benefit of the system users.

The Problem Solving Interview

Use of the *problem-solving interview* is one method of retaining the *personal element* while at the same time increas-

[2] For an example of *systematic* counselling see *Individual Employment Counselling: A Systematic Approach*. Ottawa, Canada: *CEIC*, 1982.

ing counsellor efficiency and effectiveness. Problem-solving interviews have a definite *focus and structure*, they bring to bear the *resources* of both counsellor and client, and they can be conducted by persons who have been trained in a set of basic counselling skills. Problem-solving interviews can be distinguished from in-depth psychological or therapy interviews which are more directed to the personality needs and conflicts of clients. Further, problem-solving interviews manifest the personal element through *person-to-person learning*. The learning is directed toward *life skills*, that is, toward those skills, concepts, knowledge and attitudes which are useful in solving daily life problems and increasing the quality and competency of daily coping. Therapy interviews on the other hand focus on pathology, changes in personality structure and try to effect "curing". There is no assumption underlying the problem-solving interview that clients need to be "cured". Instead, *coping skill and knowledge deficits* are assumed in the problem-solving interviews. The remedy for such deficits is *learning*; the role of the counsellor is educative.

The problem-solving interview is composed of three interdependent structures: (1) *communication*, (2) *motivation*, and (3) *task*. For the counsellor or trainee this means: "How can I increase the quality of interview communication?"; "How can I enhance client motivation?" and "How can I foster successful counselling task completion?". Each of the three structures can be analyzed into five elements with accompanying counsellor skills.

Communication Structure

The communication structure of the interview is characterized by *focus*, *clarity*, *openness*, *empathy*, and *multi-modality*. By *focus* is meant that the messages in the interview are relevant to the purpose of the interview. *Clarity* means that counsellor messages (talk) are clear, coherent, free of jargon and vagueness. *Openness* implies that, within the interview, the counsellor models openness rather than defensiveness in discussion. *Empathy* indicates that the counsellor is able to demonstrate and communicate an understanding of the client's concerns. *Multi-modality* means that the counsellor is able to use different modes of communication: speaking, listening, writing and drawing, media, role-play, etc. Through training, the counsellor can learn to use and model these elements in his or her own communication; subsequently, to coach clients to do likewise. These elements of communication contribute to rapid and effective problem-solving.

Motivation Structure

Anyone who has been in the position of counsellor will recognize the importance of motivation. The question is: "What can the counsellor do, within the interview, to increase the client's motivation to work for satisfactory solutions?" The motivation structure of the interview has five elements: *respect*, *encouragement*, *cooperation*, *credibility*, *self-regulation*. The client who experiences these elements in the counselling interview is quite likely to act in a motivated manner. The counsellor must be able to *demonstrate* a respect for the integrity of the other person. Further, counsellors need *skill* in encouraging clients and in establishing a cooperative, working-together climate in the interview. The counsellor must be able to make a *credible self-presentation*. This means being viewed by clients as a competent person who is in a position to do something that *counts*. The counsellor must be seen as a *real* person who cares and who is willing to act on behalf of the client wherever possible. The counsellor must be perceived as having *power to do things*, but not necessarily as having power *over* clients. Finally, the counsellor who values and tries to promote client *self-regulation* will have a stronger motivational influence on clients than the counsellor who treats clients as "helpless", "victims", "incapable", or "too weak and lazy for their own good". The best counselling outcome possible is the one which eliminates the need for further counselling by assisting the client to establish a successful control over his or her own life and problems.

Task Structure

The third structure of the problem-solving interview is the *task structure*. For counselling to be carried out, certain critical tasks must be performed by the counsellor. First, is the task of *interview preparation*. This includes certain things which are often done *before* the client arrives such as (a) preparing the physical setting; (b) reading any documents as needed to provide information about the client (in some cases, there is little or no documentation to review; in other cases, such as with rehabilitation clients, there may be a great deal of documentation); (c) when the client arrives, identifying self and client appropriately; (d) expressing a "friendly – warm-up" interest in the client by being attentive, briefly socializing and expressing an interest in the client's welfare.

Interview preparation should result in a mutual interest in problem-solving; a recognition of one another as persons; a quick checking of information relevant to today's interview; and conveying to the client that the counsellor is attentive,

interested, cooperative, and ready for problem-solving *with* the client. Warm-up periods in institutional counselling are necessarily brief but none-the-less have an important influence on how the later portions of the interview go.

The second task of the counsellor is *exploration* of the client's concerns. This is a necessary prelude to specific problem definition. Exploration enables the counsellor, together with the client, to build a *common understanding* and permits the identification of expectations which the client, the counsellor, the agency, and referral source (if any) have.

Exploration has the effect of enhancing the client's awareness of self and situation, brings the counsellor into the client's life-world and initiates an information base for subsequent steps in the counselling process.

The third task of the counsellor is to initiate *problem definition*. As in other tasks, the counsellor attempts to cooperatively enlist the aid of the client in defining the problem (after all, it *is* the client's problem!) but clearly takes responsibility for seeing that the task is worked at. Already in defining the problem, possible resources for reducing or solving the problem may come into view. Problem definition also provides a basis for estimating the time which will (probably) be required to search for, and implement, a solution. To aid in problem identification, a set of problem categories can be used. There are, of course, many different types of problems – some straightforward and easy of solution, others complicated and intractable. Some problems are such that a solution can be found quickly within the interview. Other solutions may require other resources, take considerably more time and even may be outside the mandate of this particular counselling service.

The fourth task of the counselling interview is the establishment of a working *contract*. This means to pick out a "best" plan, solution or "next step", get an agreement about what the client is to do (and the counsellor as well, when appropriate). A time commitment can be set, and further steps can be outlined. Contracts can be verbal or written, and often take the form of "homework" which the client does before returning for subsequent interviews.

The fifth, and final, task of the counselling interview is *evaluation*. In its briefest form this consists of a checking out of how the client and counsellor "feel about" what has been accomplished in the counselling interview or process. A "follow-up" on counselling "cases" is an example of a much more extensive evaluation. The recording or videotaping of an interview and observation by peers or supervisor are other ways to evaluate the counselling interview. Even on

a one-time counselling process, it is important to check the level of satisfaction of the client (and counsellor) with the single interview. I have included the following four displays as examples of how counselling interviews can be evaluated using checklists. Checklists 1 to 3 can be used by the counsellor and the fourth checklist is for clients to complete. These checklists can be modified to fit the particular counselling situation.

DISPLAY 1

Interview Goals Checklist

IN WHAT DIRECTION WERE YOU WORKING WITH YOUR CLIENT IN THIS INTERVIEW?

I was working toward: (circle one)	*NO*	*SOME*	*A LOT*
1. Helping my client feel accepted in the interview.	0	1	2
2. Establishing an understanding of what is really going on with my client.	0	1	2
3. Encouraging my client to problem-solve.	0	1	2
4. Supporting my client's confidence and self-esteem.	0	1	2
5. Encouraging my client's attempts to try new skills or behavior.	0	1	2
6. Trying to increase my client's use of relevant information or insight.	0	1	2
7. Getting my client to take a more active role in problem-solving.	0	1	2
8. Helping my client to decide.	0	1	2
9. Helping my client evaluate need and availability of resources to use in meeting his or her concerns.	0	1	2
10. Other _____	0	1	2

_____

_____

IMPORTANT: CHECK EVERY ITEM

DISPLAY 2

How Was Your Client Today?

During this interview, how much:	(CIRCLE ONE) *Slightly or not at all*	*Some*	*Pretty Much*	*Very Much*
1. Was your client motivated for counselling?	0	1	2	3
2. What progress toward an acceptable solution did your client make?	0	1	2	3
3. Was your client attentive to what you were trying to get across?	0	1	2	3
4. Did your client seem to accept or agree with your comments or suggestions?	0	1	2	3
5. Was your client negative or critical towards you?	0	1	2	3
6. Was your client negative or critical towards him/herself?	0	1	2	3
7. Did your client try to persuade you of his/her own point of view?	0	1	2	3
8. Was your client reluctant or refusing to talk with you or cooperate?	0	1	2	3
9. Did your client take the initiative in discussing his or her concerns?	0	1	2	3

For the purpose of providing guidance in training I have outlined the definitions of the communication, motivation and task structures/skills of the problem-solving interview and have also provided training checklists for each structure in the following paragraphs.

Definitions and Checklists for Problem-Solving Interviews

Problem-solving interviews have three interactive structures: communication, motivation and task. Each of these structures is built up as counsellor and client(s) work with each other in the interview. Both counsellor and client contribute

DISPLAY 3

Client Adjective Checklist*

During this interview my client seemed:

	NO	SOME	QUITE A LOT	VERY MUCH
1. Confident	0	1	2	3
2. Likeable	0	1	2	3
3. Active	0	1	2	3
4. Interested	0	1	2	3
5. Hopeful	0	1	2	3
6. Pleased	0	1	2	3
7. Self-accepting	0	1	2	3
8. Motivated	0	1	2	3
9. Positive	0	1	2	3
10. Resourceful	0	1	2	3
11. Withdrawn	0	1	2	3
12. Depressed	0	1	2	3
13. Timid	0	1	2	3
14. Ill	0	1	2	3
15. Discouraged	0	1	2	3
16. Inhibited	0	1	2	3
17. Inadequate	0	1	2	3
18. Distant	0	1	2	3
19. Inactive	0	1	2	3
20. Silent	0	1	2	3
21. Helpless	0	1	2	3
22. Dependent	0	1	2	3
23. Incapable	0	1	2	3
24. Confused	0	1	2	3
25. Compliant	0	1	2	3
26. Weak	0	1	2	3
27. Impatient	0	1	2	3
28. Angry	0	1	2	3
29. Frustrated	0	1	2	3
30. Accusatory	0	1	2	3
31. Demanding	0	1	2	3
32. Critical	0	1	2	3
33. Challenging	0	1	2	3
34. Hostile	0	1	2	3
35. Resistant	0	1	2	3
36. Tense	0	1	2	3

* These four categories are meant to indicate tendencies in client behavior and are not to be taken as diagnostic devices. They were suggested to me by Bion's work (*Experience in Groups*).

DISPLAY 4

Client Reactions Checklist

During the interview my counsellor:

	(CIRCLE ONE)			
	NO	SOME	QUITE A BIT	A LOT
1. Was friendly and interested in my concern.	0	1	2	3
2. Gave me useful information.	0	1	2	3
3. Tried to help me solve my problem.	0	1	2	3
4. Gave me his/her full attention.	0	1	2	3
5. Accepted me and my situation.	0	1	2	3
6. Encouraged me to improve things.	0	1	2	3
7. Gave me some helpful suggestions.	0	1	2	3
8. Understood my point of view.	0	1	2	3
9. Was someone I felt comfortable talking to.	0	1	2	3
10. Helped me to see what I should do next.	0	1	2	3

to the "work" done in the interview; however, it is the responsibility of the counsellor to take the lead in establishing and maintaining the structures of the interview. The counsellor contributes to the development of structures by displaying certain skills, knowledge and attitudes.

The following definitions and checklists are designed to teach trainees how to recognize and evaluate counsellor performance during problem-solving interviews.

COMMUNICATION STRUCTURE

1. *Clarity*: Gives clear messages to client. Avoids vagueness and ambiguity. Messages are coherent rather than disjointed. Uses questions appropriately; is specific. Uses

ordinary language; avoids jargon. Provides relevant information clearly and with good timing.

2. *Focus*: Messages are relevant to the aims of the on-going conversation. Does not wander or reply to client in a distracting or side-tracking manner. Tries to identify central issues.
3. *Openness*: Is receptive to client communications, respects client meaning, avoids defensive communication.
4. *Empathy*: Uses empathic replies and an empathic way of relating to show clients that they are being understood on their terms.
5. *Multimodal*: Is responsive to non-verbal messages. As needed, uses various communication modalities: speech, listening, drawing, writing, pictures, fantasy, movement, dramatization (role-play).

MOTIVATION STRUCTURE

1. *Respect*: Displays respect for the personal integrity of the client – shows that client is valued as a person.
2. *Encouragement*: Encourages and rewards client for communicating. Tries to bolster the client's confidence through friendliness, appropriate self-disclosure and positive reinforcement.
3. *Cooperation*: Displays a cooperative, problem-solving attitude. Tries to enlist the client's assistance in defining problem elements and potential solution factors. Stays *with* the client, does not run ahead and try to drag the client along. Tries for agreement rather than compliance.
4. *Credibility*: Tries to establish credibility for self and for counselling relationship. Does not make promises which cannot be kept. "Here is what I *can* do and here is what I *can't* do." The counsellor self-presentation is as a "real person" rather than "official" or "expert". Acts in reliable and consistent manner. Acknowledges the value of "common-sense". Is able to provide information which is useful in the counselling process.
5. *Self-Regulation*: Establishes directions to take in increasing self-responsibility. Distinguishes between what client can choose to do, and what client "must" do. Establishes self as an ally to the client in client efforts to achieve a greater sense of control over own life factors.

TASK STRUCTURE

1. *Interview preparation*: Prepares physical setting. Reviews any documents which are relevant to the interview. "Meets", "greets", and "seats". Identifies self and other. Expresses interest and concern for client. Establishes contact through attending skills, "socializing" and culturally appropriate "warming-up".

2. *Exploration*: Builds up a *mutual* understanding of problem. Defines and priorizes concerns (if needed). Begins to establish client/counsellor/agency (and referral source, if referred) expectations.

3. *Defines Problem*: (*See problem category list below*): What is the *principal* problem? What resources are needed and available. How can counselling contribute to the reduction or elimination of the problem, in whole or in part? If the problem has various aspects, establish priorities. How much time is needed and available?

   Problem category:

   i. Insight/information needed
   ii. Skill/behavior needed
   iii. Confidence needed
   iv. Decision needed
   v. Advocacy needed
   vi. Plan needed
   vii. Environmental change needed
   viii. Referral needed
   ix. Material resource needed
   x. Other

4. *Establishes Contract*: Develops a plan, or "best" plan from alternatives. Agrees on tasks to be carried out by client (and by counsellor when appropriate). Sets a time framework for carrying out tasks and plan. Checks out the reality of expectations.

5. *Evaluates*, *Terminates*: (and, sometimes, repeat or follow-up). To what extent were client, counsellor, agency and referral source expectations and requirements met? What is completed? What is left undone? More counselling needed? How do client and counsellor feel about the counselling and its conclusion?

RATING SCALE

In order to have a practical checklist for each of the structures a seven-point rating scale is used to evaluate whether or not, and to what degree, the trainee displays the skill and/or attitude in question during interviews.

6 = Displays this skill at an *excellent* level, is able to teach others this skill.

5 = *Very good* use of this skill, can adapt to difficult and unusual clients and interviews.

4 = Can use this skill at a *more than satisfactory* level in most counselling interviews.

3 = Can use this skill at a *satisfactory* level in most counselling interviews.

2 = *Requires coaching* and assistance from time to time to perform this skill.

1 = Has some conceptual understanding and *can recognize* this skill but is *not* able to perform without close supervision.

0 = Trainee is *not able to recognize or use this skill.*

COMMUNICATION STRUCTURE CHECKLIST

Skill/-Attitude	0 No Recognition or Use	1 Recognizes Concept	2 Uses, Requires Coaching	3 Satisfactory Use	4 More Than Satisfactory Use	5 Very Good, Adaptable	6 Excellent, Can Teach
1. Clarity							
2. Focus							
3. Openness							
4. Empathy							
5. Multi-Modal							

Name of Observer: _____

Name of Observed: _____

Occasion: _____

NOTES:

MOTIVATION STRUCTURE CHECKLIST

Skill/-Attitude	0 No Recognition or Use	1 Recognition of Concept	2 Uses, Requires Coaching	3 Satisfactory Use	4 More Than Satisfactory Use	5 Very Good Use, Adaptable	6 Excellent, Can Teach
1. Respect							
2. Encouragement							
3. Cooperation							
4. Credibility							
5. Self-Regulation							

Name of Observer: _____

Name of Observed: _____

Occasion: _____

NOTES:

TASK STRUCTURE CHECKLIST

Skill/-Attitude	0 No Recognition or Use	1 Recognizes Concept	2 Uses With Coaching	3 Satisfactory Use	4 More Than Satisfactory Use	5 Very Good Use, Adaptable	6 Excellent, Can Teach
1. Interview Preparation							
2. Exploration							
3. * Problem Definition							
4. Establish Contract							
5. Evaluate, Review, Terminate							

* Problem categories:

i. Insight/Information needed
ii. Behaviour/Skill needed
iii. Confidence needed
iv. Decision needed
v. Plan of action needed
vi. Advocacy needed
vii. Material resources needed
viii. Environmental change needed
ix. Referral needed
x. Other _____

Adult Learning

Counselling, whether on a one-to-one basis or on a group basis, is primarily an *educative* process. In counselling, individuals are neither "forced" to decide or make changes, nor are they "cured" of bad habits or neuroses. Rather, counselling is a process whereby clients *learn how* to decide, make behavior changes, problem-solve, or perceive things differently. The learning that takes place in counselling is distinguished from the learning that takes place in classrooms in that the former is organized around the needs and resources of the individual (client) while classroom learning is group-oriented and organized around a curriculum.

Three elements of learning. For the purpose of describing the learning focus of the counselling interview, we may distinguish three different types of adult learning. One, a client may require a *change in thought* or change in the way a certain situation is perceived. This can be called a change in *cognitive structure*. A person may *lack* a certain idea or information. For example, a client may not know what a job resume is or what a resume is used for. Or a person may have a *wrong* (faulty) idea or information. For example, a man may think that only women can hold a secretarial job, when in fact there are male secretarial jobs. Or a person may not think *coherently* about a situation; cognitive connections are lacking. For example, an individual may think that *applying* for a job in writing is enough, without realizing that it is necessary to *follow-up* on the job in most cases with a personal interview.

A second type of learning is *change in motivation*. An example of this is learning to like (or dislike) a new type of work. Another example is changing the relationship-feeling which one has toward another person; for example, from being *suspicious* about a co-worker (what is he up to?) to one of *respect* (he is a pretty good fellow, someone I can rely on). The change of stereotypical reactions toward age, sex, ethnic membership, social class, and so on, are motivational changes. Changes in self-esteem, from being basically self-critical and self-rejecting to self-approving and self-accepting are also examples of motivational learning.

The third learning element is *change in behavior*. Examples of this are learning new skills, how to do a certain task such as how to keep a job, how to write a computer program, how to drive a truck and so on.

Learning is re-learning. Adults always bring a wealth of life experience to the counselling (learning) situation. While life experience contains much of value for each of us, it also has an inhibiting effect on us in various ways. Some of the concepts, attitudes and behaviors which we learn through

day-to-day living do not serve us well as we go into new situations. Other things which we have learned are simply wrong - they never served us well. In many ways, as adults, we frequently need to be re*educated*, to re-learn, to put more useable learnings in the place of what we have previously learned. The frame of mind which the counsellor needs *vis-a-vis* adult re-learning is this:

> which learning experiences can I provide so that clients can *alter*, *replace*, *transcend* patterns of behaving, thinking, believing and willing by means of which they have managed and justified their lives up to now (with varying degrees of success) into patterns of behaving, thinking, believing and willing which are both more personally fulfilling and more socially constructive. (Lewin, 1945) [3]

Adult learning is not just a matter of learning *new* facts. It is often also a matter of *un-learning* old ways. Thus, the concept of reeducation. Reeducation implies that changes in self-concept are sometimes required. The counsellor may have to help clients break down *resistance* to learning. *Abandoning* concepts, attitudes, beliefs, values, and perceptions which have been self-serving is not an easy task. Further, the bias of a particular individual is often supported by peers, family and cultural group. At the very least, a counsellor must be cognizant of the influence which environing factors and social relations have upon the willingness of any client to change or be re-educated.

Participation Learning. Giving other persons "correct information", "telling" them what they should do, or providing them with concepts which are superior to the ones they already possess, does not insure that the persons will incorporate the new information, advice, or concepts into their own coping strategies. Adults do not learn as well from the direct input of counsellors, teachers, social workers and other helpers as they do when they are active *participants* in their own learning. The counsellor (as educator) should try to use learning methods which enable clients to utilize their own feelings, attitudes, knowledge and behavior *as the data to be processed* in bringing about cognitive, motivational, or behavioral change. *Adults learn best by doing*.

Structure and Learning. While some adults prefer to learn in an intuitive, spontaneous and unstructured fashion, most adults need *structured conditions* for learning. What this means is that the counsellor should be prepared to use a variety of methods for giving structure for the client's

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[3] Lewin, K. and Grabbe, P. Conduct, knowledge and acceptance of new values. *The Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 1, *3*, August, 1945.

learning. Clear *explanations*, *examples* to follow, *testimony* from peers who have already learned the skill or concept, *models*, supervised *practice*, *frames-of-reference*, *discussion*, *role-play*, *graphic displays*, and *self-observations* are all examples of learning structures. These structures provide guidance for the adult learner.

Self-defeating attitudes and behaviors. Almost all adults and especially those who have not held very favored or successful statuses in society build up self-defeating attitudes and behaviors. Such attitudes and behaviors have a use – they are used to defend the self from real or imagined attack or stress. Such ideas as: "I'm awkward", "I get embarrassed easily", "People won't like me", "I've got to be perfect", "I'm afraid I'll make a mistake" and such behaviors as being late for work, failing to speak up in group discussions, reacting in tense situations with impulsive anger, "blaming" others, and so on are all *learned* and serve to *defend* one's sense of self.

Unfortunately, however, self-defeating behaviors and ideas keep people from learning many things which would be to their distinct advantage to learn. The counsellor's task with adult clients who display self-defeating ideas and behaviors is: (1) to help clients perceive that they are *engaging* in self-defeating ideas or behaviors; (2) *evaluate* the consequence for themselves (usually negative); and (3) learn different ways of reacting and thinking-ways which are self-supporting rather than self-defeating.

There are three types of insight which the counsellor can try to develop with clients in order to reduce self-defeating actions and beliefs. First, *recognize* the self-defeating behavior or attitude and briefly explore *how* it may have been learned. Second, urge the client to break away from *dependence on the past* and focus upon what is going on in the present. To attribute one's failings, miseries and fate to past events, people and experiences, successfully defeats *present* efforts to improve one's situation. Third, promote the insight that it is nearly always possible to do *something* about one's present life concerns, no matter how difficult they may be. Seeing what one is doing, focusing on the present, and taking some corrective step, no matter how small, constitute a useful strategy for altering a client's conception that he or she is helpless in the problem situation.

The adult learning principles which are particularly useful to counsellors can be summarized thusly:

1. Counselling is usually a *reeducative* process.
2. Learning can be *cognitive*, *motivational*, *behavioral*, and often is a mixture of these.
3. Adults *learn best by doing*.

4. Adults often have to *unlearn* self-defeating ideas and behaviors while at the same time learning useful substitutes.

Summary Thoughts on Learning to Use Counselling Structures, Tasks, Skills

First, it is important to develop a "wholistic" sense of one's self as a helpful person. *Second*, it is essential to learn how to adjust one's counselling style to the particular clients which one encounters. I will elaborate on these two points, taking the second point first.

Depending upon the client and the problem of the client, a competent counsellor can adopt one of three roles: *coach*, *collaborator*, *consultant*. These three counselling roles constitute a continuum of helping. Which role one takes initially with a client depends on the three factors of need, preference and skill of both counsellor and client. These same three factors will dictate when, and if, one needs to change roles with a client during a single interview or in the course of several interviews.

Counsellor as coach. To "coach" is to *train intensively by instruction, demonstration and practice, to direct the movements of, to prompt.* In this role the counsellor is active and directive. The coach-counsellor uses modeling, didactic instruction, feedback and direct suggestion to increase client knowledge of self, problems, relationships or environment. The coach-counsellor supplies information and directions readily.

The coaching role may be selected initially by the counsellor because a client (or clients) lack sufficient skills to interact productively within the counselling process. The coaching role may be used at any point in counselling when a need for specific skill training arises. "Coaching" is appropriate with skill-deficient clients, with clients accustomed to authoritarian family and work relations and with clients who are resistant to counselling but who must be dealt with by the counselling agency.

Counsellor as collaborator. To collaborate means *to labor together, to work jointly with others, especially in cognitive or intellectual tasks, to cooperate with or willingly assist.* The collaborator-counsellor assumes a more-or-less equal status with the client in working on the client's concern. Both client and counsellor contribute ideas, suggestions and insights toward clarification or solution of the problem at hand. In this role, the counsellor works *with* the client, encouraging but not leading, offering suggestions but not imposing them. This role is appropriate with clients who dis-

play a motivation to work for solutions together with at least a degree of self-direction.

Counsellor as consultant. In the consultant role, the counsellor offers opinions, information and expert suggestions with the client remaining free to accept or reject them. The client *asks* for consultation, it cannot be imposed. In a consultant relationship there is no power differential between client and counsellor. The counsellor's "authority" stems from the counsellor's inferred expertness. Consultation is clearly an *educational* process in that a consultant informs, clarifies, analyzes, recommends and presents data. In a consultant relationship, however, it clearly remains the perogative of the client to accept or reject the consultants data depending upon its perceived usefulness from the client's point of view.

The consultant-counsellor takes a largely non-directive stance since he or she has no preconceived idea of content that he or she wishes to transmit to the consultee (client). What turns out to be appropriate content is determined through consultation, not preconception.

The counsellor-as-consultant role is appropriate only with self-directing, autonomous clients who have good problem-solving abilities but who have requested assistance (consultation) because they need information, suggestions, or orientation. Clients who benefit from consultation are pretty much free from dependency-needs.

Finally, the approach to training counsellors implied in this paper stresses that six domains of personal effectiveness as a counsellor should be addressed.

1. *Awareness of personal values*: recognizing how personal values can influence the helping process; recognizing that at times it is necessary to suspend one's values and refrain from forming hasty judgements of clients.
2. *Ability to recognize and manage own feelings*: learning how to keep in perspective such self-feelings as frustration, disappointment, rejection, power, annoyance and impatience in relation to clients.
3. *Ability to serve as model*: recognizing the importance of influencing others through the imitation process; aware of the desirability of effective living in own life (physically, emotional, social well-being).
4. *Strong sense of ethics and responsibility*: recognizing the need to work for a balance of responsibility toward clients, society and self; striving to maintain an ethical relationship with clients and co-workers especially in areas such as respect for the person, protection of the individual, rights to privacy and due process, and honesty in communication.

5. *Is at-home with people*: willing, and able, to "enter the world of another", no matter how problematic that world may be; able to react constructively to a wide range of clients including the resistant, hostile, unmotivated client as well as the autonomous, resourceful client; more-or-less free from stereotypical reactions to clients who are ethnically different from self, or who come from different social class backgrounds, or who differ in age, sex, and education; can adapt to out-going as well as "quiet" clients.
6. *Uses "self" as chief instrument for change*: recognizing that while counselling skills and methods are important, they can be no more effective than the *person* who attempts to use them. Skills are only useful when they are applied with flexibility within the context of a caring and supportive relationship, even if only of brief duration. While skills can be learned in a piecemeal fashion, they must be integrated into a *wholistic*, natural style in order to be applied with maximum impact for client change.

Of course these six areas should be viewed as open-ended goals or growth-directions for trainees. They are not fully achieveable through the use of participation pedagogy, or by any other training format, for that matter. However, they suggest the directions which we ought to try to move in training. Movement tends to be increased in direct proportion to the trainee's own involvement and participation in the training. Practice, open discussion, reflection, engagement – these are the crucial elements for self-formation and the determination of personal meaning.

How Adults' Concerns about Work Change with Age

Danielle Riverin-Simard, Ph D
Associate Professor
Laval University

Introduction and theoretical framework

The purpose of this three-year research project* was to identify the stages in an adult's vocational development over the years. In this way we hoped to shed light on the nature of an adult's personal development at work, and also to see the various guidance or employment counselling strategies in a new light.

The theoretical framework was based on a model designed specifically for adults.** It was entitled "Vers un modèle en escalier" (Toward a staircase model), *** and is consonant with those developmental theories of vocational choice which postulate that development continues with the same intensity right up to death, even though it takes different forms.**** This has many implications. First, it means that development in the adult period cannot be conceived as a relatively stable phase followed by deterioration and decline. It also means a qualitatively different development with significant changes occurring constantly. Furthermore, the model ties in with development theories conceived in terms of stages. It postulates a series of specific periods which are the foreseeable passages in the whole of an adult's working life and give meaning and direction to his growth. This postulate also means that the various periods and the tasks asso-

*Three-year study funded jointly by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Formation de Chercheurs et d'Action Concertée, Ministère de l'Éducation, Quebec, the Conseil Québécois de la Recherche Sociale, Ministère des Affaires Sociales, Quebec and the Université de Laval special research budget.

**For details see D Riverin-Simard, "Développement vocationnel de l'adulte: nécessité de construire un modèle", *Revue des Sciences de l'Éducation*, VI, No 1 (1980), 51–61.

***For the detailed model, see D Riverin-Simard, "Développement vocationnel de l'adulte: Vers un modèle en escalier", *Revue des Sciences de l'Éducation*, VI, No 2 (1980), 325–351.

****See D Riverin-Simard, "Développement vocationnel de l'adulte: revue de littérature", *Canadian Journal of Education*, VIII, No 1 (1983), 17–47.

ciated with them have their own challenges and resources. As regards the nature of the adult's vocational development process, the model postulates that it follows a cycle with successive periods of questioning and reorganization lasting about five years. During the periods of reorganization, the individual is following his vocational path and outside events interact with changes in his own inner world (values, interests and so forth). This "evolving" interaction between a changing work environment and the individual's work identity which is also developing causes discomfort which gradually increases. Eventually it becomes a dissonance which leads the individual to a period of questioning, in which he must reformulate his choices and redefine or reassess his needs, interests and skills in light of the factors facing him. The results of this reappraisal gradually lead to a new series of choices which ready him to enter another period of reorganization, and the cycle begins again.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the model showed each period lasting about five years. The literature made this seem short enough to allow differences to be observed and long enough for all their complexity to appear. The model uses age as an indicator variable rather than a causal factor. The model postulates that questioning and reorganization are caused not by age but by vocational events (within or outside the individual), which give constant impetus to development. Moreover, ages should be considered as merely approximate averages.

Methodology*

The sample was made up of working adults between the ages of twenty-three and sixty-seven. It was broken down a priori according to four variables: age, sex, socio-economic status and work sector. Of the 786 subjects there was an average of 88 in each of the nine age groups. Roughly half (375) were women and half (411) men. About a third were in each of the three work sectors: private (252), public (292) and parapublic (242). They were also fairly evenly divided among the three socio-economic classes: upper (262), middle (285) and lower (239). They were interviewed in 1980 and 1981, just before the economic crisis was declared.

Obviously, given the population selected (adults in Quebec administrative region 03), the results of our study could only be extrapolated with extreme caution to all adults ages 53 to 57 in the Province of Quebec or other parts of Canada or North America. Even in extrapolating from the sample to

*For information on the methodology, see D Riverin-Simard, "Développement vocationnel de l'adulte: méthodologie de la validation d'un modèle", *L'Orientation professionnelle*, 17, No 4 (1981), 7–32.

the population we must be cautious, for our failure to secure the co-operation of some ten per cent of the subjects prevented us from obtaining random samples throughout. This failure was often occasioned by employees being refused permission to take part in the research during working hours. Their employers cited such reasons as the great difficulty of interrupting assembly-line work, busy seasons or major internal reorganizations in a critical phase.

For its experimental design, the study used one of the three developmental approaches, the mixed approach, combining aspects of the transverse and longitudinal approaches. It is what Campbell and Stanley call a "recurrent institutional design", classified as a quasi-experimental schema. We collected data in semi-structured interviews lasting an average of fifty-five minutes. The interview technique, based on indirect questioning (Seltiz, 1977), used three experiential modes:*

1. The interview technique uses visual accessories, the most classic of which is card classification, deemed effective on several occasions (Seltiz, 1977). At the start of the interview, the subject was given a pile of sixty cards and asked to select the fifteen most meaningful cards and the five most important of these fifteen. The sixty cards represented various aspects of working life and vocational development. They were derived from a review of the literature and revised following a pilot project.
2. The interview technique uses "figuration", which summarizes a process or series of events in graphic form and has the advantage of condensing information (Pelletier, Noiseux, Bujold, 1974). Subjects were asked to chart the changes occurring over five years, retrospectively and prospectively, for each of the five cards or themes selected as important. The "figuration" or curve was drawn as spontaneously as possible on a blank page with only the year (horizontal) and ten degrees of questioning (vertical) as coordinates.
3. The interview technique also relies on "connotation", which emphasizes associated attitudes and feelings rather than a formal concept. This mode addresses the fantasies and values attached to a given concept or theme (Pelletier, Noiseux, Bujold, 1974). When the subject drew his curve, he was asked to tell us how he perceived the changes he experienced rather than what the objective facts were. For

*Experiential modes are strategies designed to have the subject consider contents of a perceptual, imaginary and subjective nature rather than a symbolic and semantic nature. These experiential modes are intended to make ideas, concepts, psychological factors and so forth real. (Pelletier, Noiseux, Bujold, 1974, p 90).

it has been observed many times that development is prompted by perception of a change or development rather than an actual change or development (Baltes and Schaie, 1973). The subject had to think for a few moments before illustrating his response. Then he drew his curve and explained it in the light of significant events.

RESULTS

First come the general results, which show where the findings converge with or diverge from the basic model and where they are incomplete. Next come descriptive results for each of the nine age groups. Afterwards, three articles in this publication give detailed results for three of the nine age groups: 38-42, 43-47 and 48-52.

General results

(a) *Findings consistent with the model*

i) The results show vocational experience specific to adults in each of the nine age groups: each has a typical content, even with the short five-year intervals.

ii) The results indicate that vocational experience does follow a cycle with questioning states followed or preceded by reorganization states. The cycle is much faster than expected, however, there is constant coming and going between these two states, in each of the nine age groups.

(b) *Incomplete findings as regards the model*

i) The results show that, in each age group, questioning periods tended, on the average, to last longer and be more intense than reorganization periods, so that overall, despite the constant coming and going between the two, adults are essentially in a state of questioning throughout their working lives.

ii) While pointing to a constant state of questioning over time, the results show an alternation between two types of questioning depending on age group. The alternation takes five years. The first type of questioning deals with the purposes of vocational life. The adult asks: "What are my goals and objectives?" This purpose-oriented questioning is mainly characteristic of the age groups 28-32, 43-47, 53-57 and 63-67. The second type of questioning deals with ways of achieving work-related goals. The adult asks: "How can I attain my goals and achieve my purposes?" Means-oriented questioning is mainly characteristic of the age groups 23-27, 33-37, 38-42, 48-52 and 58-62.

(c) *Findings divergent from the model*

The basic model postulated that vocational development

continues until death, in different forms but with the same intensity. However, this conception of qualitatively different development does not seem to be shared by some 85% of adults. In other words, these people seem to accept, more or less consciously or under compulsion, a conception of their development based directly on the biological curve. According to this conception, development follows an upswing until about the age of thirty-five, then levels off until age fifty-five, when it declines toward retirement or death.

On the other hand, 15% of the subjects are free from this "biologicism" and correspond more closely to the basic model. They see themselves on a vocational development continuum that shows qualitative differences for every passing year. These exceptional subjects are the ones who show rapid development aimed at self-actualization and transcendence.

Descriptive results

Let us look at the vocational content of each of the nine age groups. The dominance of the questioning state in an adult's working life prompted us to use *space terms* to describe this content. The ongoing state of questioning suggested the image of people bouncing around inside a spaceship. Hence the reader may anticipate comparisons with an interplanetary voyage.

age 23-27

The subject uppermost in the mind of an adult *age 23-27* is *landing on the planet Jobmarket.** He is like a new arrival carting along his personal history as baggage (his values, aspirations, family background, vocational training and so forth). He experiences some degree of shock when he perceives the disparity between his predetermined vocational identity and the identity imposed on him as a new citizen of the planet Jobmarket. This disparity may fill him with an urgent need to take his baggage and land somewhere else.

An adult age 23-27 tries to minimize the negative effects of these landing manoeuvres which may or may not be successful, for he may well see these moves as signs of failure caused primarily by personal instability. He is very vulnerable to other people's assessments. Throughout his moves he still tries to be guided by his ideal aspirations or his dreams. For the moment he does not think of revising pre-established vocational goals; he concentrates on ways of achieving these

*For details, see D Riverin-Simard, C Morneau et al, "Développement vocationnel de l'adulte de 23-27 ans: Atterrissages sur la planète 'Marché du travail'", *L'Orientation professionnelle*, appearing in 1983.

goals. He is on an upward slope aimed more or less at his dreams.

If I were advising people counselling a clientele in this age group I would say:

i) help the twenty-three- to twenty-seven-year-old look for correspondence between the identity he established earlier, his aspirations, his values and the landing strips on the job market;

ii) initially, do not push him to redefine his vocational goals immediately. It would be premature to try to redefine vocational goals when he is busy investigating ways of achieving the occupational goals he set earlier.

age 28-32

The adult of *28-32* is essentially *looking for a promising path.** He is questioning his vocational objectives and the possibility of finding a promising path which will offer him optimum vocational development. He asks himself: "What are my strengths, capabilities and skills which will give me access to this promising path?" A person of 28 to 32 is coming to grips with the complex phenomena of the job market, and with its inner rules (networks, open and closed avenues, favourable or mitigating circumstances, socio-political climate and so forth). He is now trying to see how he can make his way through the jobmarket jungle. He sets ultimatums for himself in this and is anxious to get going. He looks for social recognition and is concerned with identifying the areas in which he is most competent or skillful so as to match his strengths with a particular set of jobs.

Thus a twenty-eight- to thirty-two-year-old is primarily concerned with detecting the occupational goals which would use his originality and uniqueness to best advantage in the socio-economic context. These occupational goals should put him on the road to maximum performance or a promising career path. Adult education often looks like one means to achieve this.† The search for a promising path coincides with the heightening of social roles, in particular family roles.

If I were advising those dealing with a clientele age twenty-eight to thirty-two, I would suggest the following:

*For details, see D Riverin-Simard, C Morneau et al, "Développement vocationnel de l'adulte de 28-32 ans: À la recherche d'un chemin prometteur", *L'Orientation professionnelle*, appearing in 1983.

†For details, see D Riverin-Simard, "L'éducation des adultes chez les 28-32 ans", *Revue canadienne de l'éducation permanente universitaire*, appearing Spring 1983.

i) help the subject to redefine his vocational purposes;

ii) encourage him to tolerate the ambiguity of his questioning stance despite social pressures on people of this age to be already settled and established.

age 33-37

The adult of *33-37* is caught willy-nilly in an *occupational race*.** Suddenly he seems to see himself running a race where the rules are to move forward quickly and overcome obstacles swiftly. The goal of this race seems to be to amass a set of occupational exploits to be drawn on in later years in the event of less spectacular performance or possible failures.

A person of thirty-three to thirty-seven identifies his age as a peak occupational performance period. The work exploits for which he claims trophies are connected primarily with acquiring prestige or social success. This race has the effect of heightening individual differences; perceptions of opportunities for making good range from deeply pessimistic to highly optimistic. The race seems to restrict the range of career paths.

The perception of time, which at 23-27 emphasized a future to be built, has changed at 33-37 to concentrate on filling up the present. The race seems to lead the individual toward a plateau which is supposed to guarantee him job status until retirement. As one subject said, "Once I achieve my objective, I won't ask for anything else until I retire . . ." The race is experienced as an uphill climb in which a real respite or rest would mean slipping back or even falling.

If I were advising those who counsel adults of 33-37, I would make these suggestions:

i) respect the subject's feeling that he must run a race;

ii) make him aware that the period 33-37 is not necessarily a peak job performance period, to be followed by a plateau or premature levelling off;

iii) make him aware that, on the contrary, it is a time for continuing to identify new challenges.

**For details, see D Riverin-Simard et al, "Développement vocationnel de l'adulte de 33-37 ans: aux prises avec une course occupationnelle", *L'Orientation professionnelle*, appearing in 1984.

age 38-42

An adult of *38-42* feels he has finished a chapter.* The end of the vocational race in the preceding period has closed an era. He is faced with a series of complete or partial failures or successes. He asks himself: "What lesson should I learn from all that?" A person of 38-42 wants to try out *new, more personal guidelines* worked out from his past experience. He becomes involved in examining his illusions or rebuilding his philosophy of life. He wonders about his occupational identity, his work values and so forth. He asks: "Is it time to change again? How do I want to continue in my work life?" Thus it is the psychological moment for bringing his occupational life into focus.

All these questions are accentuated by the time limit and call for looking simultaneously at past, present and future. The individual proceeds to draw up his vocational rules or laws to make his own charter: for when an adult of 38-42 speaks, he habitually justifies himself on the basis of some part of his charter or one of his new guidelines. These latter have a very wide content range, from the very defeatist and tolerant to the most optimistic and aggressive. Furthermore, still full of impetus from the race in the preceding period, he seems to allow himself little time to reflect on the nature or objectives of these new guidelines, which may be chosen or identified in haste. His foremost goal is to find adequate means of putting these new guidelines to the test as soon as possible.

If I were advising people who counsel a clientele age 38-42, I would make these suggestions:

i) respect the subject's attempts to draw up and test new guidelines;

ii) respect his intolerance and even his refusal to dwell on the nature of the new guidelines he wants to adopt;

iii) understand his feverish haste to try out new guidelines immediately;

iv) be very cautious about drastic career changes at this age, for goals are still poorly integrated or articulated and career choices may be inappropriate;

v) help the subject of 38-42 to see age as something that speeds up vocational development rather than slowing it down.

*For details, see D Riverin-Simard et al, "Développement vocationnel de l'adulte de 38-42 ans: essai de nouvelles lignes directrices", *L'Orientation professionnelle*, appearing in 1984.

age 43-47 | **age 48-52** | **age 53-57**

Our findings with regard to these three age groups are reported as separate articles in this publication.

age 58-62

An adult of *58-62** is manoeuvring to *change his gravitational field* (here we are back in space parlance). After looking for a promising way out, he has come to a very distinct stage. He seems to have to move from point zero at the outer limit of the vocational attraction of planet Jobmarket into the typical vocational attraction of planet Retirement. It is rather like being on a spaceship leaving the gravity field of one planet forever and entering another planet's field.

An adult of 58-62 emphasizes that the preceding period was very difficult, but now he has succeeded in reconciling himself to the idea of retirement and death. There are different ways in which he may reverse the gravitational pull. He may face the job market and study ways of staying connected with it or cutting loose from it, or he may face retirement and look at ways of postponing it or taking it early. He makes bequests of his reflections, that is, he seems to want to pass on his vocational guidelines devised at age 38-42 and later tested. He also leaves us his vocational charter as a heritage. The reflections he passes on deal with the need to accept challenges, maintain some degree of freedom at work, recognize experience as an essential component of wisdom, be tirelessly enterprising, examine one's life and live it through every day.

Various moods go with the reversal of gravitation. Most people experience great emotional insecurity and an obvious lack of self-confidence. A few are very secure, and certain they have superior emotional balance; they also see themselves as more human, more fulfilled, livelier and better able to adapt.

If I were advising people who counsel adults of 58-62, I would make these suggestions:

— make the subject aware that vocational development is possible on planet Retirement as well as planet Jobmarket; in other words, that retirement is not synonymous with vocational death.

*For details, see D Riverin-Simard et al, "Développement vocationnel de l'adulte de 58-62 ans: transfert de champ gravitationnel", in preparation.

age 63-67

An adult of *63-67** seems to be grappling willy-nilly with *the vocational gravity of planet Retirement*: he cannot escape from it quickly. There are different reactions to this situation. Some people refuse to accept it and try to neutralize the pull of gravity. Others accept it very willingly and even use it to speed up their vocational development. By changing their occupations or lightening their workloads, people redirect their vocational development.

Adults of this age show other related forms of behaviour. The concept of performance gives way to personal and social usefulness. The focus is on problems of biological, economic and vocational survival (that is, the content and forms of new activities during retirement). A person of this age is also caught up in a race for vocational reflection. At age 33-37, he was in a race for vocational achievement; at 63-67, he may seem anxious to withdraw so he can think and muse. He seems possessed by an insatiable need for a very intense inner life. He thinks about such matters as life and death, success, old age, what his predecessors left him and what his generation is handing on to the next.

If I were advising those counselling a clientele age 63-67, I would make these suggestions. A person of this age should be helped to do the following:

i) recognize and accept the vocational attraction of the planet Retirement;

ii) perceive the heritage from the job market;

iii) bring vocational activities into line with the retirement situation;

iv) avoid the dichotomy between work and retirement as regards vocational development.

Practical implications and conclusions

i) Since adults seem to be constantly questioning throughout their lives, perhaps the concept of vocational maturity should be distinguished from the concept of occupational stability. In other words, we should look seriously at the adage that a mature person is necessarily a stable person. On the contrary, might a certain instability or questioning stance be a guarantee of ongoing vocational development?

ii) Could the "biologistic" conception of development (that is, growth to about 35, a plateau from 35 to 55 and subsequent decline) be a factor in premature voca-

*For details, see D Riverin-Simard et al, "Développement vocationnel de l'adulte de 63-67 ans: aux prises avec la gravité vocationnel de la planète retraite", in preparation.

tional levelling off? Might it even be the antithesis of ongoing vocational development?

Furthermore, if this conception is shared by such a large majority of adults (eighty-five per cent), is it also shared by those who deal with and counsel this popu'ation? If so, are counselling strategies tainted with "ageism"?* Might these strategies even work against ongoing vocational development?

iii) Given that an adult's vocational experience is specific to each age group, should more attention be given in guidance or vocational counselling to how adults' concerns about work change with age?

*Ageism is a more widespread form of discrimination than racism or sexism in North American society. It may be defined as judging a person primarily on the basis of age rather than more relevant criteria. J Bergman, "Ageism in today's society and schools", *Contemporary Education*, 51, No 4 (1980), 197-201.

Vocational Development of Adults Age 43-47: Searching for the Guiding Thread of Personal History

Danielle Riverin-Simard, Ph D*
Associate Professor
Laval University
1983

1 Introduction

What has been written about the vocational experience of adults age 43-47 is sketchy and uneven. The focus has for the most part been on the effects of the crisis around age forty. The large number of career changes at this age has been noted, however (Thomas, 1980). Some researchers have also noted a trend toward greater job satisfaction. (Lacy and Hendricks, 1980) and greater acceptance of one's personal economic situation (Wright and Hamilton, 1978). As a general rule, however, the period seems to be described as difficult or arduous. Adults of this age seem unable to assign to themselves such youthful characteristics as vitality, growth or heroism (Levinson, 1978). Instead, they identify with negative traits normally belonging to old age: vulnerability, ineffectiveness, uselessness and so forth. To characterize career stages after forty, we must use the terms regression and demotion (Hedaa, 1978), dropping out and withdrawing (Morris, 1980), the ending of a cherished dream (Hall and Lerner, 1980). After studying the literature, Crain (1980) reported that earlier ambitions, even though they had seemed to be enduring, lost all their meaning toward the age of forty-five, even for people who appeared enormously successful. But what vocational experience do people actually encounter at 43-47? The present study has two objectives: to shed light on the vocational experience of adults in this age group and to help validate a vocational development model for adults.

*Assisted by the following graduate students: S Bilodeau, C Boily, L Fortin, G Guénard, C Morneau, A Riverin, S Robitaille, C Tremblay and M Wilscam, and the following undergraduates: V Lavoie, D Lemay, L Losier, J Pelletier, D Tardif and L Tremblay.

1.1 Theoretical framework (see preceding article)

1.2 Basic method (see preceding article)

Let us briefly review the points in our method. The sample of adults age 43-47 was broken down a priori according to three variables: socio-economic status, sex and work sector. Our 91 subjects in the 43-47 age bracket were distributed as follows: 49 males, of whom 15 were in socio-economic class I (lower), socio-economic class II (middle) and 21 in socio-economic class III (upper); 42 females, of whom 15 belonged to socio-economic class I, 15 to socio-economic class II and 12 to socio-economic class III. The private sector accounted for 29 subjects, the public sector 34 and the parapublic sector 28.

Figure I gives an example of the five individual curves for a subject age 43-47 and one general curve (the average of the five). The first point to note in this figure is that a high degree of questioning shows at the bottom, and a low degree at the top. Thus, in Figure I, the subject drew each curve on a different chart, but we brought them together to serve as illustrations. In this example, note that the themes (chosen cards) "disillusionment with work" and "abilities-skills" cause a high degree of questioning from the middle of the retrospective period up to the end of the prospective period. The themes "work after retirement" and "securing respect for one's individuality" give rise to very little questioning. Another point to note is that the five themes (cards) selected by the subjects are considered equivalent on the whole. For *it is the degree of questioning associated with these themes, rather than their nature,* that tells us most about how intensely adults aged 43-47 experience questioning. If, for example, two people show *equal degrees* of questioning for the five themes selected and they select totally different themes, the two are considered to be in *equivalent states* of questioning.

2 Results

2.1 Do adults on the whole live in a state of questioning or reorganization?

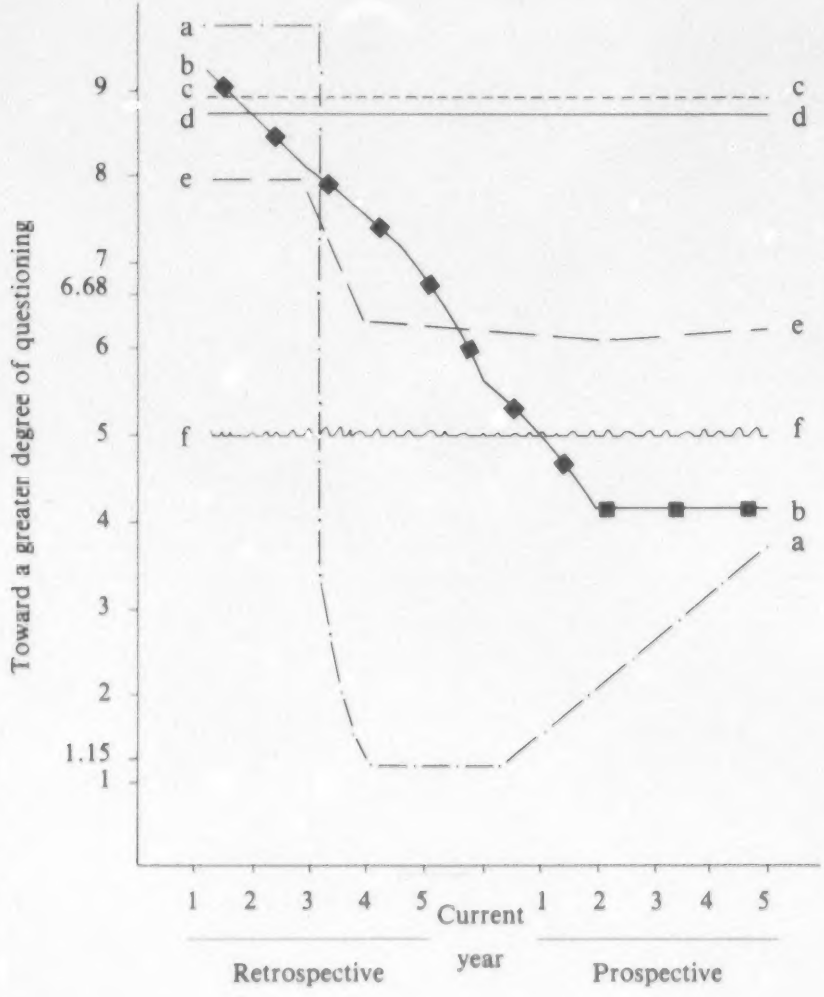
2.1.1 *Quantitative findings*

2.1.1.1 *Compilation method*

To answer this question quantitatively, we drew a mean curve based on every subject's individual curves. Naturally, this mean curve is subject to a very strong regressive effect (imagine the mean of many curves like those illustrated in Figure I), which of course tends to even out any oscillations. This mean curve does, however, offer the advantage of

FIGURE I

Individual curves for a subject age 43-47 (example)



Legend

a Disillusionment with work
b Abilities-skills
c Work after retirement
d Securing respect for one's individuality
e General curve
f Involvement in decisions

showing the overall position of all the subjects. To determine whether this curve belonged overall to a state of questioning or a state of reorganization, we used a critical decision threshold to distinguish two levels on the scale of degrees of questioning. From the mean of our eight hundred subjects' curves,* we established a critical threshold of 6.68 degrees. Figure I shows this threshold in the left margin. The degrees of questioning from 6.68 to 10 correspond to a minimal questioning state, which for purposes of this analysis will be called a "state of reorganization"; 6.67 and below corresponds to a "state of questioning".

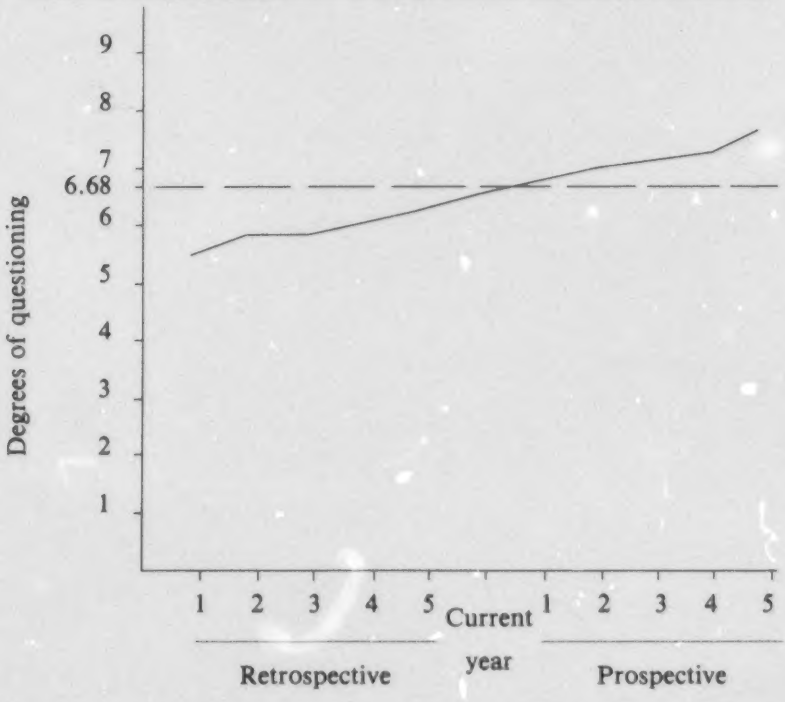
2.1.1.2 *Results*

Figure II shows that adults age 43-47 tend on the whole to record a state of questioning in the current year and the five preceding years.

* Note that this article is one in a series presenting the results of a three-year study of nearly eight hundred adults in nine age groups covering a five-year span, from age 23-27 to age 63-67.

FIGURE II

General curve for subjects age 43-47 (n = 91)



2.1.2 *Qualitative findings*

What people of 43-47 say about these data show, broadly speaking, that they are questioning the purposes of their personal and vocational life. In essence, these subjects are wondering about the continuity or coherence of their former and present vocational goals. They look for a synthesis of their occupational identity and are concerned about the real contribution or relevance of the various parts of their vocational history. An adult of 43-47 asks himself: "What scenarios have I acted out so far? How are they connected? What goals have I pursued? Are they still adequate? What aspects of my vocational self have I been able to use? *What is the guiding thread that explains my work history,* what is the key to it? Is this thread specific and far-reaching enough to lead through the whole of my unique vocational destiny?" A person of this age feels a real need to bring together all the parts of his work history. He must become aware of the internal and external factors that explain his present situation, and his earlier goals have to be redefined. Changes in his inner self and in the job market call for an overall readjustment. He wants to spell out the objectives he perceives for his destiny, while remaining fully aware of the weight of his past: "I think that, after turning forty, I really felt the balancing pole . . . Before, I was setting off into the future . . . and now, I feel my past is balancing me so that I can cope with the other phases of my life . . ." said one woman.

So that he can engage in these very demanding thought processes, a person of 43-47 sometimes seems to go on automatic pilot. He has acquired enough experience to keep from being too emotionally involved in his work. The automatic pilot frees him from day-to-day concerns; he can analyse his new identity and new goals. "Before, I didn't have time to think much . . . I had to act fast . . . But now, I have more time to reflect . . . I wonder about all kinds of things . . ." In addition, a person of 43-47 feels he is in a calmer period following years of disturbance: "I used to ask myself lots of questions . . ." He takes a more serene, calm and confident look at various events: "I don't see any black prospects now . . . I see the best and most beautiful everywhere. My worrying days are over . . ."

The purpose of searching around for the key to one's work history is seemingly to grow more aware than ever of neglected vocational interests. During this period of examination, many people find that their earlier goals are no longer meaningful. Sometimes this discovery makes a person begin to view a brilliant career as less important: "It matters a lot to be able to think about doing what you really like . . .

In the past, you've done things you liked . . . But first you had to work . . ." Thus, an adult of this age feels that finding the key is made more urgent by his need to adjust his fire or change his direction completely. "This period is a time for thinking about new directions . . . You want to know more about yourself so as to see whether you might not be made for something else . . ." A person of 43-47 is aware that he is in a crucial phase of his occupational history. "At a certain age, you see everything differently . . . I think forty-five is the turning point in your life." This guiding thread might make a person able to integrate all the things he has experienced or missed, all his successes and failures, so as to set new goals: "The other side . . . the other phases of my life . . . I'll be able to surmise them more easily . . ."

Being on automatic pilot and in search of the key to his history, a person of 43-47 sometimes seems to be floating free of time and space. His reactions are much less noticeable and he seldom displays desperate panic or wild enthusiasm. He may, for example, still be concerned about alienation or stress in the work environment, but he sees less point in talking about it, for he regards conflict at work as a normal part of daily life. An adult of 43-47 will not try the first idea that comes to mind at any time. First he will identify parallel situations he has experienced earlier and fix on common features or general rules so that he can adapt these to the current situation.

2.2 Are there many variations in states of questioning?

2.2.1 *Quantitative findings*

2.2.1.1 *Compilation method*

For a quantitative answer to this question, we turned to the oscillations on the curves drawn by the subjects. In Figure I above, for example, between two years there may be no variation (as for the themes "work after retirement" and "involvement in decisions"), a variation of 0.15 degree (between the fifth retrospective year and the current year for "disillusionment with work") or a variation of 8 degrees (between the third and fourth retrospective years for "disillusionment with work"). We considered all the variations, from 0.15 degree up, on the curves drawn by the subjects. This threshold was chosen because whenever a person drew a variation of 0.15 degree, he was able to explain it with reference to a corresponding work experience.

2.2.1.2 *Results*

Table I shows a very high incidence of variations in degrees of questioning among adults age 43-47. From the totals, the incidence is in the order of 79% for retrospective years and

TABLE I

Subjects age 43-47
broken down by presence (P) or absence (A) of "variations" in retrospective and prospective individual curves

Subjects n = 91	Year 1		2		3		4		5		6*		Total	
	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A
Retrospective and current year (6th)	67	33	74	26	82	18	85	15	86	14	82	18	79	21
Prospective	78	22	66	34	67	33	62	38	—	—	—	—	68	32

* The 6th year is the current year.

68% for prospective years. The detailed results are given on the same table. In the first retrospective year, 67% of the subjects drew one or more variations (P) while 33% did not (A). For the first prospective year, 78% of the subjects drew variations (P) while 22% did not, and so on.

2.2.2 *Qualitative findings*

What adults of 43-47 say about these variations in degrees of questioning relates to the search for a strand leading through their past history and their distant future.

2.2.2.1 *Guiding thread of the past*

To an adult of 43-47, his past seems preponderant. "I am more in touch with the past . . . On the other side, it's pretty much unknown . . ." To secure the best conditions for seeking out the guiding thread of this past, he must engage in serious tête-à-têtes with change. He seems to personify change, as if it were an invisible, silent, ineluctable presence. During these heart-to-heart exchanges, there are times when a person of 43-47 seems grateful to change, but at other times, he appears to be condemning it. In his less critical moments, he seems to be grateful to change for always being there to encourage him to realize his potential. He has a great variety of things to thank change for. He considers it responsible for promoting his personal and vocational well-being and strongly motivating him to keep on developing. For example, a person of 43-47 feels a growing awareness of internal and external events. "I am more aware of all sorts of

things now . . . I have more time to think . . ." He feels more experienced. "Enrichment through earlier work experience, personally, I've been spoiled as far as that's concerned . . . I think that's one of my strong points." A person of this age is sometimes very proud of his experience. "What I have today I want to keep." He has more self-knowledge: "At forty-five, I know my level, my capability . . . I rely on that." He also knows more about the people who stimulate him: "I like people who contradict me . . . that makes me go further." A person sometimes realizes that he has always grown: "I have always grown . . . I've never remained stable." Sometimes change has reassured people: "I feel much less uncertainty because I can rely on my past." He worries less: "All the things that used to bother me are in the past now . . . I've gone through everything I had to go through . . . The worst is over . . . The emotional period is behind me."

On the other hand, in dialogues with change, a person of 43-47 has many moments when he is strongly against it. He almost seems to blame it for the many damaging effects it has had on him. Change seems to be responsible for the many contradictions he has suffered and the equally many deteriorations that have oppressed him. For example, a person of 43-47 blames change for damaging his vocational identity, and he has lost confidence and feels less fit to take on responsibilities. "I'm not very confident at present . . . I don't feel up to taking on responsibilities . . . My reason tells me that I'd have the capability and the experience . . . but I've lost my confidence . . . I feel wiped out right now." Sometimes, the person no longer believes in the value of his work role: "I've thought of giving up everything . . . I'm disillusioned with being a manager." Occasionally he may notice his performance has fallen appreciably: "I've always functioned well at work . . . but at present, I'm not doing quite as well." "I'm not able to perform the way I used to." He is frustrated by this decrease: "At my age, I'm no longer able to perform as well as before, and that bothers me." At other times, a person of 43-47 blames change for deterioration in the work environment, which becomes less and less favourable to vocational development. He finds the climate less healthy: "The bigger the outfit gets, the worse the climate gets . . . There's less co-operation." Structural changes are blamed for deterioration: "There have been all sorts of changes . . . new structures that didn't favour us." It seems harder to live in harmony with young colleagues: "Young people nowadays make remarks I don't like . . . They're only in it for the money." Sometimes a person of 43-47 has been relieved of responsibilities connected with his duties.

"No, I'm not growing at work . . . I used to have more responsibilities and I felt I was growing more." The appraisal system has deteriorated: "In one unit, our abilities and skills aren't always recognized any more . . . with the new classification and appraisal system." The environment seems to force people of this age prematurely onto a plateau. "I haven't had a promotion in six years . . . I've entered competitions . . . Sometimes I was really suited to fill positions, but I didn't get anything." The environment seems to give this person a lower and lower opinion of himself: "We haven't had a promotion . . . We sink a little lower . . ." Sometimes, the environment does not recognize how hard the person has worked to obtain a position which should, in theory, have been given to him. "Personally, I had a bad experience about a position. The fellow who was my director died. I worked day and night to replace him, and finally the position became available. I thought I had it, I'd planned everything around it, but then suddenly, I found I didn't." The person may have less and less esteem from the environment. "At the beginning, I was practically indispensable . . . Today, I'm undesirable . . . But I've made up my mind." Finally, to close these critical dialogues with change, a person of 43-47 complains of too many health worries. "I'm more concerned than I used to be about physical capability. I didn't use to have any health problems . . . until I had my operation." "I had to have surgery every year . . . fighting off illness . . . that made me more aware that life doesn't go on forever . . ."

2.2.2.2 *Guiding thread to a distant future*

In talking about the variations in their drawings, adults of 43-47 allude not only to seeking the guiding thread of their past but also to searching for a guiding thread to their distant future, retirement. A person of this age emphasizes the positive side of retirement. He is very anxious for it: "I can hardly wait to retire." He associates it with a type of freedom: "I look forward to retirement . . . I'm going to have the time to do everything I can't do when I'm working full time." Sometimes a person sees retirement as a well-deserved reward: "I've worked enough! I can't wait to get my pension! I started work at fourteen . . . I've always thought of quitting early." Retirement is a way out of an alienating environment: "At fifty-two, I'm going to retire . . . Six years from now, I won't be here any more." People see benefits not only in personal terms but in socio-economic terms: "I think about retirement every day. I want to give my place to young people. There's so much unemployment." Some adults of 43-47 take preparing for retirement

very seriously. "Retirement has been on my mind for several years." Some are even unduly concerned: "I'm worried about what I'm going to do after I retire." The period is perceived as potentially very difficult to adapt to: "I'd say retirement is worse than marriage. It's a big decision. Personally, I think retirement is even worse. It's a big change." On the other hand, people consider themselves luckier than those in preceding generations: "I plan my retirement calmly . . . It's less of a worry than in our parents' time. They had a rocking chair and nothing else." Some people have very firm plans: "Myself, I can't sit and stare at a wall. I have my woodworking shop for when I retire, and my wife has a weaving room." "On weekends, I go to my woodlot, and what I love to do is clear it . . . I dream of going on with that in my retirement." Some retirement plans are more passive, and feature special places or ideal rooms to await death: "My dream is not to die of cold . . . Summer in Quebec and winter in a warm country." "I want to go and spend the winter where it's hot . . . I want to die down there."

2.3 Do people go from a state of questioning to a state of reorganization at 43-47?

2.3.1 *Quantitative findings*

2.3.1.1 *Compilation method*

To answer this question, we must first use the critical threshold (located at 6.68 degrees in Figure I) to distinguish two groups on the scale of questioning. This threshold is explained in the results for Figure II. We calculated the frequency of the individual curves crossing this threshold, below which there is a state of questioning and above which there is a state of reorganization.

2.3.1.2 *Results*

Table II shows that in all, 90% of adults say they have gone (retrospective) or expect to go from a state of questioning to a state of reorganization, or vice versa. The percentage is distributed differently depending on the number of curves on which this passage from one state to the other occurs. For example, 21% of the subjects passed from one state to the other on two curves. This is true of the subject whose curves are shown on Table I (curves b and a above). In addition, 16%, 17% and 17% made the change on three, four and five curves respectively. This points to the frequency and intensity with which people move from one state to the other.

2.3.2 *Qualitative findings*

What adults of 43-47 say about passing from a state of questioning to a state of reorganization or vice versa relates to the

TABLE II

Subjects age 43-47 broken down according to whether or not they pass from one state to the other on their individual curves

Subjects	Yes						No
	Curve frequency (%)						
	1	2	3	4	5	Subtotal	
n = 91	18	21	17	17	17	90	10

search for a guiding thread for their future and the place of family roles.

2.3.2.1 *Guiding thread to the immediate future*

In looking for the guiding thread to his vocational history, a person of 43-47 includes the part of the thread leading to his immediate future, which is connected to the thread of his past. Only by piecing together all the parts of this thread can he really see all of his past, present and future history. In searching for the guiding thread or key to his immediate future, the person of 43-47 seeks to reinvent his vocational destiny. He dreams of occupational mobility: "I'm due for a change." "I can't go on like this . . . I've already started looking elsewhere." "I'm going to keep on functioning for ten years, but it isn't me, because there has to be change as time goes by." This mobility is viewed as obligatory: "At my age, I have to look somewhere else . . . Will I settle down again? . . . Will I find something interesting?" The person even goes so far as to feel a need for a complete career change: "I had done some planning . . . but I'm still revising it." Changing direction may seem difficult or tiresome. "My career planning has to be done all over . . . I'm fed up with it at my age . . . Would it be better to resign myself?" Reinventing one's destiny may show as a wish to develop more quickly. "I'd like to get ahead faster." A person of 43-47 is keen to improve. "My performance has to get better. Otherwise it will become unstable." He wants to continue his vocational self-actualization. "I want to feel better . . . I'd like to grow, and it bothers me."

Several factors are felt to hamper the reinvention of a person's occupational destiny or his immediate future. They may have to do with the person himself. He finds it harder to develop: "Even though I'd like to develop my capability, it's

harder." Age appears as a handicap. "You'd like to improve but you can't, after a certain age . . . It's not as if you were just out of school . . . It's more difficult." Adapting seems to take some time. "Perhaps it will be difficult to adjust to changing jobs." Health may deteriorate. "When we have a lot of activities going, it comes to me like a flash: if I ever got sick . . . I'm very active, and illness would throw my work right off." A person of 43-47 perceives that the other factors that could keep him from reinventing his destiny or his immediate future are caused by the environment. The job market may change too quickly. "If changes drop out of the sky like a bomb I'm going to be worried." The mentality in the environment can wreck many plans. "People's attitudes have to change . . . I can't work like that." The presence of a rival may compromise the reinvention of the immediate future. "A person appeared on the scene and I ask myself if she's going to take my place . . . It's very worrying." For this person, upward mobility may sometimes seem impossible. "I don't see many opportunities for promotion." The immediate future as regards the environment looks black. "I don't look to the future optimistically."

In analysing the guiding thread to his immediate future, the person of 43-47 sometimes sees the possibility of another burst of energy. "I want to prove to people that I'm capable of doing more than I was doing before." Sometimes he foresees speeding up his vocational development. "Before I start backing off, I want to go forward some more." "I'd like to move forward more." Sometimes he may be completely hemmed in before he can make a move. "I don't know what to do any more, or what to find." In other cases there is no block, only serenity. "I can foresee my development over the next twenty years much better than I could twenty years ago . . . There's much less uncertainty." On the other hand, a person of 43-47 may deliberately plan not to have any burst of energy in his immediate future. "I'm going to stay here until retirement . . . But there comes a time when you lose confidence in yourself." He may even plan to slow down: "I think I'm going to take it easy."

2.3.2.2 *Place of family roles*

In this search for a guiding thread to a person's history, the family seems to become a priority, and often arouses emotion or concern. A person of 43-47 may state quite emphatically how important family roles are. "For me, my family life takes priority." Looking at the past, he sometimes regrets not spending enough time on it. "I was involved with the children, but not enough." For the present, he says he puts special emphasis on these family roles. "I spend more

time than I used to on my family." "I used to live a busier life . . . Now it has slowed down a bit, and I'm more concerned with other people, the children tend to come first more." As for the future, the adult states his intention to give more time to the family. "In the years to come, I'll have to attach more and more importance to my family." At the same time, the adult of 43-47 acknowledges the difficulty of reconciling work and family roles. There are some very difficult or painful compromises. "My family life suffers tremendously because I work all the time." "The fact that you're working all the time and you have a house to look after, and the children, it's a lot . . . Sometimes it gets out of hand." There are demanding arrangements: "I draw a line between my work and my home." On the other hand, there are successful compromises: "My work nourishes my home life and vice versa . . . I've always thrown myself right into whatever I'm doing, with whatever I've got. I don't feel torn."

2.4 Do adults of 43-47 have specific concerns?

What is most specific to people of 43-47 is the way in which they deal with various vocational matters rather than the content of what they deal with. A person of this age speaks of a very wide range of vocational concerns, for he is looking for the guiding thread to all parts of his past and future. This specific characteristic has already been discussed, but to make it more explicit, we should look at what is said about the guiding thread as regards the past, present and future simultaneously. This guiding thread is supposed to explain various patterns of work life, that may be gradual, cyclical, decreasing or progressive.

Sometimes an adult of 43-47 identifies a gradual guiding thread to explain part of his work history: "The further you go, the more experience you acquire." A cyclical pattern may be very enlightening as regards behaviour following a change in jobs: "I've changed jobs quite often, and when I start at a new place, I give it all I've got, I set the place buzzing, and then I slow down." A cyclical pattern may correspond to a personal characteristic: "I go in cycles . . . every five years. I've been in this section seventeen years and I've made three major changes." A cyclical pattern may correspond to a need to take on challenges. "Personally, after five years, I need a new challenge." A person of 43-47 may see a cyclical pattern as a principle for accelerating his vocational development. "I think you shouldn't stay in the same job too long: five years is the most. By then you're pretty well sucked dry." On the other hand, the guiding thread may point to a pattern of decrease, associated with difficulty in coping with challenges: "The longer it goes on, the harder it

is for people of our age to face challenges . . . It's a lot more difficult." A pattern of decrease may explain difficulty in adapting to young people. "I'm really aware that I'm ageing. With new customs and the generation gap, young people nowadays have a different mentality." Lack of commitment may correspond to a shrinkage pattern. "This can't go on much longer because I'm only doing my work out of a sense of duty. This leads to lack of commitment. You can't live for long without a commitment." Finally, a pattern of decrease may reflect the deterioration of the environment. "Five years ago, there was a lot of participation. Since then, we've still been participating, but now, we've reached a stage where it gets more and more boring."

A progressive guiding thread may correspond to accelerated development. For example, a person of 43-47 says that he needs one challenge after another to keep him on the bit. "I have to beat myself to get a grip on myself." Challenges serve several purposes: (a) keep the mind alert — "I like challenges, they stimulate me . . . When you have objectives, it keeps your mind open"; (b) cultivate interest in work — "I can only like my work if it keeps on challenging me"; (c) promote self-actualization — "I need challenges to rise above myself"; (d) maintain peak mental health — "I'm always challenging myself. Challenges are good for mental health"; (e) avoid feelings of emptiness — "I always find something new to fill up my life." Finally, a progressive pattern may translate into perpetual questioning, which guarantees healthy criticism of one's growth rhythm. "I'm concerned about that. The question I ask myself is whether the work I'm doing makes me grow or deadens me. That's the question you always ask: am I achieving something new? am I developing? am I growing?"

2.5 Exceptional seekers

Some adults of 43-47 must be described as exceptional seekers after the guiding thread of their history. This group, roughly fifteen per cent of the total, has much the same work experiences as the rest, and its members also speak like people seeking for the key to their history and engaged in questioning the goals of their vocational development. However, these exceptional seekers differ from others of their age in several particulars. First, they are aware of two related facts that seem paradoxical. Seeking for the guiding thread makes them recognize that their history is limited in time (by the number of years of life left to them) but still limitless in potential. Recognizing the limits to one's history means becoming aware that one's most cherished interests and ambitions from past years may fade, and that the foremost

and most basic values of one's occupational history must give way to other values as one grows. In short, it means realizing the limitations to everything formerly seen as infinite. At the same time, recognizing the limitless nature of one's limited history means becoming aware of the countless variations that may still occur in this history. It also means that the years to come can be filled with realistic and conscious promises. In short, exceptional seekers gradually become aware of the almost infinite possibilities for continuing self-actualization in different fields or in different ways, notwithstanding the limitation of their work history. For example, a widow with nine children returned to work; she has many responsibilities and a set career plan which seems designed for very full vocational development over many years to come. Two other people in this age group, despite serious illness, are continuing very active careers in the face of medical advice to slow down.

Another characteristic of exceptional seekers is their perception and grasp of their inheritance from the past. In searching for the guiding thread to their history, they identify things which enable them to keep in contact with their heritage. This lets them push forward into the future with greater strength, intensity and sense of direction. In looking for their guiding thread, exceptional seekers turn around while remaining within the force field of their growth. In earlier years, they felt drawn toward the future, and now their past propels them into the future. For these people, their past inheritance, their baggage, is an electrical generator that powers them to pursue their vocational development.

3 Interpretation of results and conclusions

3.1 Conclusions regarding the theoretical framework

3.1.1 *Findings consistent with the model*

The results seem to corroborate some aspects of the basic model having to do with the nature of the process and the characteristics specific to the various periods of an adult's working life. People of 43-47 do seem to pursue their vocational development through periods of questioning followed by periods of reorganization. Moreover, we observed a feature specific to the vocational experience of adults of this age, namely that they are in essence searching for the guiding thread to their occupational history.

3.1.2 *Findings divergent from the model*

These findings relate to two points. First, adults of 43-47 do not experience a period of reorganization as featured in the model. Rather they go through a period of questioning, pri-

marily as regards the ultimate goals of their vocational development and their personal identity. In addition, the basic model has as its first postulate that vocational development continues right up to death, in different forms but with the same intensity. However, this conception of qualitatively different development seems not to be shared by some eighty-five per cent of adults in the 43-47 age bracket. In other words, these people seem to accept, more or less consciously or "under compulsion", a conception of their development based directly on the "direct biological model of stages", as Kohlberg calls it (1973, p 181). This model shows an adult's vocational development progressing upward to about the age of thirty-five and later declining until retirement. Between thirty-five and fifty-five, the adult is in a holding phase where everything is relatively stable, fixed, changeless or uneventful. The indicators that corroborate the acceptance of this conception by adults of 43-47 are as follows:

1. perception of a premature end to their vocational history;
2. perception of the present period as insipid in comparison to the earlier growth period;
3. search for the guiding thread only for past life;
4. no search for a guiding thread for the immediate future;
5. no goals for pursuing vocational development;
6. no use of heritage from the past to gain strength for the future.

The exceptional seekers (some fifteen per cent) do, however, seem not to adopt this conception based directly on the biological model of stages. They appear to correspond more closely to our basic model. They perceive themselves as on a development continuum. They see the present period they are passing through as a unique whole with its own value, specific characteristics, intensity and assessment criteria. In no way do they see themselves in a holding pattern denoting fixation or absence of change. They seek the guiding thread of their occupational history so as to grasp the inheritance of the past more fully and use it to propel themselves into their present and future development. Simultaneously they perceive the finite nature of their potentially limitless history and the infinite nature of their finite history (see 2.5 above). This enables them to plan wise, far-sighted goals toward which they can develop even more swiftly.

Do those who adhere to the biological model of stages pay a price, the price of living their occupational present and future in the past? Do they restrict their opportunities for vocational development and thus place themselves in a period of deceleration? Might the price they pay be the sorry

fate of carving out a vocational future without hope of growth?

3.1.3 *Incomplete findings*

The incomplete findings relate mainly to the fact that adults of 43-47 are in a similar situation to adults in the preceding age brackets, that is, a precarious situation of questioning which appears as instability and disorganization. This means that perhaps this continuous questioning should be shown in the basic model as a basic element in the adult's vocational development. The proportion of time assigned to stability should practically be reduced to nothing, and instability should actually be related to a new concept of stability. A serene vocational life would be a life full of constant crises to be dealt with. Stability and reorganization would be features of a lost paradise that is still being sought after. The necessary conditions for vocational development would be living in a perpetual state of questioning or a constant feverish search for balance. In this our basic model would be very different from any existing model of an adult's personal development. Most models are formulated for subjects under fifty years of age, and associate the concept of temporaneousness with periods of questioning. The latter are described as difficult times of instability between two periods of restructuring, reorganization or stability lasting much longer. The periods of questioning are seen as temporary, identified by rites of passage (Van Gennep), crises between the principal periods of life (Erikson), predictable passages or critical transitions (Sheehy), frontiers between the seasons of life (Levinson) and so forth (McCoy et al, 1980).

3.2 Practical implications

Our findings concerning adults of 43-47 may be interpreted as several messages, of which the most important is that it is essential to respect the need of a person of 43-47 to seek out the guiding thread of his vocational history; for this thread is in some sort a fundamental explanation running through time which enables the seeker to identify a coherence, a certain logic underlying all his actions, intentions, reactions and the like. It is important that the following idea be communicated to the person, regardless of whether his occupational past is brilliant or dismal. His search for the guiding thread must make him aware of the major forces balancing each other in the dynamics of vocational development at this age. From now on, the person will feel less drawn toward the magnetic pole of his future, as he was in the past, or ever since he started working. Instead, he will feel propelled toward the future by an electrical generator which is his baggage or inheritance from the past.

Obviously, a conception of vocational development part of which runs counter to the biological curve could have "disruptive" repercussions in many areas of practice among adults. *Vocational guidance*, for example, must respect the need of adults age 43-47 to engage in serious dialogues with their past and put many questions to their immediate future. A guidance counsellor must ensure that the adult uses this period of searching to plan his vocational activities with ample allowance for broader scope. This will help him to meet the requirements of his innate drive for development at the same time as the constraints of his environment and his biological limitations. *Job counselling* must intensify efforts to help the adult of 43-47 plan suitable vocational horizons. It must be understood that this adult goes through stages where he is more aware of the limitation to his occupational life. The counsellor must point out the many possibilities which might be open to him if his surroundings and the person himself allowed his finite life to be infinite in some ways. In *personnel management*, special attention should be given to this adult with an introspective attitude toward change. This attitude, which tends to remove people of 43-47 from time and space, could be very useful for teams involved in making decisions. Such a person is sensitive to the need for withdrawal, for temporary detachment or distancing in the search for a wise or effective solution. *Unions* should do their best to protect these people's rights and help them pursue their career paths. They should not be perceived as embedded in a period of stagnation or slowing down. Career development and retraining provisions designed especially for adults over forty should be negotiated. *Business organizers and community workers* should devise action plans to promote new occupational departures instead of emphasizing career end planning. This could be more profitable for the business and more satisfying for the adult. *Testing* for orientation or job choice should emphasize at this age more than any other how a person's vocational past could provide a basis for a new departure for the immediate and long-term future. Moreover, testing in line with the search for a guiding thread to a person's occupational history could be a key tool for this process.

3.3 Conclusions

The results of the study give reason to believe that the vocational development of adults age 43-47 is essentially characterized by questioning about the goals of their personal and vocational life. Adults of this age seem in essence to be searching for the guiding thread of their occupational history which would explain their past, present and future working

life. They wonder about the coherence of their vocational objectives, the constitution of their occupational identity and the real implications of the various parts of their history for their destiny as a whole. This search is conducted largely in segments, and does not follow a set chronological order. The first thing we noted was that the search through their past entails appreciative or critical dialogues with an invisible but ineluctable presence, to wit, change. Then we observed a search for a guiding thread for the distant occupational future, namely retirement. Adults of 43-47 are also looking for the guiding thread to their immediate future, and they relate this to their family roles. Lastly, we found that these adults also look for a guiding thread that runs through their past, present and future occupational history, all three. This search shows that the thread may follow a gradual, cyclical, diminishing or progressive pattern.

Our findings also substantiated some aspects of the vocational development model entitled a "staircase model". First, adults seem to pursue their vocational development by passing through periods of questioning followed or preceded by periods of reorganization. Next, there are features (qualitative findings) specific to the vocational experience of this age. Our results also pointed to features that diverge from the model. The period 43-47 is a time of questioning as regards the goals of vocational development, whereas the model postulated that this age was a period of reorganization. Another point where our findings differed from the basic model was that only fifteen per cent of our subjects age 43-47 had a conception of development with qualitative differences throughout the adult period. On the other hand, eighty-five per cent had a conception of their development based directly on the biological model of stages. This conception posits similarity between the biological curve and the vocational development curve. According to this view, an adult of 43-47 has grown up to about the age of thirty-five, and is going through a maintenance or stagnant period, prior to entering a period of decline at about the age of fifty-five. These differences with regard to the conception of vocational development make the author emphasize the risks of following the biological model of stages shared by most people of 43-47.

The implications affect various fields of professional practice. The main drift is that it is essential to respect the fact that an adult of 43-47 searches for the guiding thread of his vocational history; for the thread he seeks is in some sort a fundamental explanation running through time (that is, all the years of his working life) that could enable the adult to

identify a certain coherence or logic that binds together all his actions, intentions, reactions and so forth. Finally, an adult of 43-47 must be enabled to become more aware of his past so that he can propel himself into his immediate and long-term vocational future.

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Vocational Development of Adults Age 48-52: Changing the Trajectory

Danielle Riverin-Simard, Ph D*
Associate Professor
Laval University

1 Introduction

Little attention has been given to the vocational experience of adults age 48-52 in the literature. Most of the interest in them is associated with the phenomenon of ageing, for they are seen as undergoing its first stages. They are considered mainly in connection with programs to prevent problems of ageing such as inadequate preparation for retirement or loss of physical condition.

To offset this silence, some authors stress the necessity of studying the many stages or substages of a career more minutely. According to Hall and Lerner (1980, p 428), the more fully the developmental process extending over a lifetime is identified, the more evenly will emphasis be distributed among different career stages. Morrisson (1977) maintains that, if the various changes in occupational roles over an individual's lifetime were better understood, we would know more about career stages and how people progress from one to the next. These two statements point to the appropriateness of studying various phases of working life in greater detail, including the period from age forty-eight to age fifty-two. What exactly happens in the vocational experience of adults age 48-52? The present study has two objectives: to shed light on the vocational experience of adults age 48-52 and to test the validity of an adult vocational development model.

1.1 Theoretical framework (see preceding article)

1.2 Basic method (see preceding article)

Let us briefly review the method we used. The sample of adults age 48-52 was broken down a priori according to three variables: socio-economic status, sex and work sector. Our 91 subjects in the 48-52 age bracket were distributed as fol-

*Assisted by the following graduate students: S Bilodeau, C Boily, L Fortin, G Guénard, C Morneau, A Riverin, S Robitaille, C Tremblay and M Wilscam, and the following undergraduates: M Grenier, V Lavoie, D Lemay, L Losier, J Pelletier, M Racine, L Robidoux, D Tardif and L Tremblay.

lows: 47 males, of whom 17 were in socio-economic class I (lower), 13 in socio-economic class II (middle) and 17 in socio-economic class III (upper); 44 females, of whom 14 belonged to socio-economic class I, 15 to socio-economic class II and 15 to socio-economic class III; 27 subjects worked in the private sector, 38 in the public sector and 26 in the parapublic sector.

Figure I gives an example of the five individual curves for a subject age 48-52 and one general curve (the average of the five). The first point to note in this figure is that a high degree of questioning shows at the bottom, and a low degree at the top. Thus, in Figure I, the subject drew each curve on a separate chart, but we brought them together for purposes of illustration. In this example, note that the themes (chosen cards) "immediate superior", "presence of illness" and "abilities-skills" cause a high degree of questioning. On the other hand, the theme "job changes" causes very little questioning. The theme "family life and work priority" oscillates in the lower range of questioning.

Another point to note is that the five themes (cards) selected by the subjects are considered overall as equivalent (except as regards the question of specific concerns, which will be discussed later); for to begin with, we are interested in the degree of questioning associated with these topics rather than their nature. If, for example, two individuals record equal degrees of questioning on the five themes selected, although each chose five completely different themes, the two subjects are considered to be in an equivalent state of questioning.

2. Results

2.1 Do adults of 48–52 on the whole live in a state of questioning or reorganization?

2.1.1 *Quantitative findings*

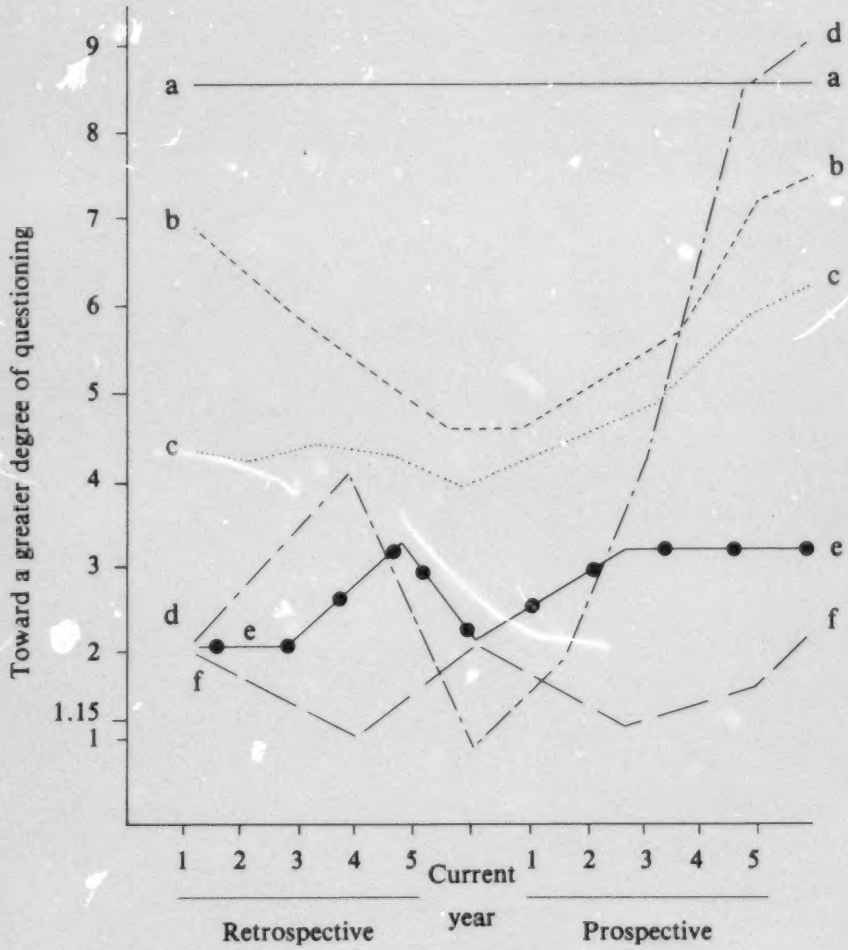
2.1.1.1 *Compilation method*

To answer this question quantitatively, we drew a mean curve based on every subject's individual curves. Naturally, this mean curve is subject to a very strong regressive effect (imagine the mean of many curves like those illustrated in Figure I), which of course tends to even out any oscillations. This mean curve does, however, offer the advantage of showing the overall position of all the subjects.

To determine whether this curve belonged overall to a state of questioning or a state of reorganization, we used a critical decision threshold to distinguish two levels on the scale of degrees of questioning. From the mean of our eight hundred subjects' curves,* we established a critical threshold of 6.68 degrees. Figure I shows this threshold in the left mar-

FIGURE I

Individual curves for a subject age 48-52 (example)



Legend

a job changes
b family-work priority
c general curve
d immediate superior
e illness
f abilities-skills

* Note that this article is one in a series presenting the results of a three-year study of nearly eight hundred adults in nine age groups covering a five-year span, from age 23-27 to age 63-67.

gin. The degrees of questioning from 6.68 to 10 thus correspond to a minimal questioning state, which for purposes of this study will be called a "state of reorganization"; 6.67 and below corresponds to a "state of questioning".

2.1.1.2 *Results*

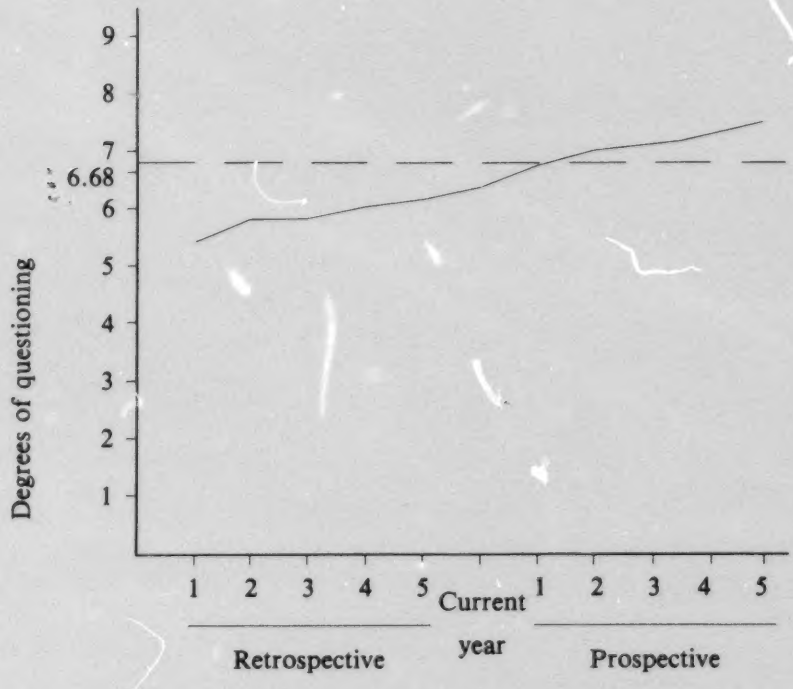
Figure II shows that adults age 48-52 tend on the whole to record a state of questioning in the five years on which they look back and on into the first of the upcoming years.

2.1.2 *Qualitative findings*

What people of 48-52 say about this state of questioning refers mainly to patterns in their personal and vocational life. In essence, these people are wondering about how best they can change their trajectory. After searching for the

FIGURE II

General curve for subjects age 48-52 (n = 91)



guiding thread to his history, an adult of 48-52 now possesses a data base about the development of his vocational self and of the world of work. Integrating these data makes him feel a need to alter his trajectory or change his vocational behaviour. He now wants to use all these data to redirect his trajectory toward a compromise that makes allowance for all the demands on him. He knows that his trajectory must realistically accommodate the development of his vocational identity as well as his work environment. He is quite clear about the necessity for some degree of harmony between the demands of his inner drive for development and the obligations of his occupational role. "I turned down a very important position. I thought the job would have required me to travel for six months a year. I work for a big organization that is concerned about the quality of worklife. But does quality of worklife mean wearing yourself out flying all over the world?" An adult of 48-52 looks for ways of changing his trajectory so as to come to terms with the forces or demands facing him. Appropriate arrangements are very difficult to arrive at because of the complexity of vocational identity and the system of work activities. In the face of major difficulties, changing the trajectory may look like resignation: "When you come to a certain age, you're more ready to accept authority." To alter his trajectory successfully, an adult of 48-52 wonders about the various adjustments he must make in order to balance the priorities and the forces pulling him in two different directions. The change may be obvious or very subtle, slight or unachievable. At the same time, other things typical of adults age 48-52 affect the adjustment of their trajectory. Such a person sees himself at the meeting place of youth and wisdom. His self-knowledge has been fairly well tested. He sees the spectre of illness lying in wait for him but this only makes him appreciate health more.

2.1.2.1 *Where youth and wisdom meet*

The adult of 48-52 explains that he has strength in comparison with the old and experience in comparison with the young. He emphasizes the juxtaposition of youth and wisdom: "You age physically but inside, you feel as young as anybody. You have to get old to understand it." His youthfulness makes him want to change his vocational behaviour: "The big challenge I have is embarking on another career." He does not want to think about withdrawing from the active economic world: "I'm still too young to think about retiring." He is going through a stage where he can afford an occupational change. "My work is very pleasant, but if I want to make a change, I'm still young enough to, I'm not

waiting to turn sixty." He feels it would be premature to level off his activity right away. "Before I came here, I was a manager for twelve years. When I arrived, I had hardly any responsibilities. At first it was all right, I thought it would give me a rest, but now it bothers me. I'm too young for that." A person of 48-52 appreciates his age. "I don't wish I was twenty. I'm happy to be a woman of fifty." This is a very interesting time of life for a person. "I have no regrets about being fifty. I feel more and more comfortable with myself all the time." A person of this age feels full of energy, which he ascribes in part to his occupational environment. "I work in a student environment. It's very interesting and enriching. It's fun to work with young people. That helps you keep young. They have some quite surprising ideas at time." While recognizing his limits, he is all the more skeptical about the pseudo-scientific equation of age with decline. "The psychologists say that your ability to adapt grows less with age. I can't believe that, but it makes me wonder." In short, he sees many advantages to his time of life. He sees himself as able to acclimatize quite flexibly: "At my age, I adapt quite easily to whatever conditions I find." He has a great many alternative solutions. "I have several ideas. If I fail in one thing, I have something else to get me out of it." His increased age brings a corresponding growth at work. "So far, I've been growing like a weed. Every year I've been happier and happier at work. I think it's going to go on."

An adult of this age is able to judge the advantages of the various events he has experienced. "I'm pleased with all my work experiences, the negative ones as well as the positive." Errors seem to become less frequent with age: "I make mistakes, obviously, but perhaps a bit less often than twenty years ago." Fellow workers tend to use these people as advisors: "It makes you feel very good when people come to ask your advice."

2.1.2.2 *Proven self-knowledge*

In both his positive and his negative verdicts, the adult of 48-52 shows the pieces of self-knowledge he has acquired quite calmly. These pieces are part of his daily life and he reviews them as if they were old friends. Sometimes he has more self-assurance: "I have the temperament of a person with confidence in himself." Life has given him this emotional security: "My experience has led me to be more confident." Others of this age express diffidence: "I'm a person who lacks self-confidence." The person may be afraid of failure: "Personally, in my field, it was fear, being afraid of failing." He lacks determination: "I have a very tough time making decisions." He shows less organizational drive: "I

can feel I'm not in such good shape now for thinking about all kinds of things so that I can make plans . . . because other people do it for me." He says he is very conscious of his characteristics and of the nature and extent of his occupational skills: "I know my capabilities, my limits and I'm aware of my abilities in the job I do." He identifies his weaknesses as regards his job: "I'm able to accept and recognize my errors." A person of 48-52 feels stimulated by difficulties. "The more challenges I have, the more comfortable I feel. I need a lot of them. When people suspect I may not make it, that gives me extra drive." He also feels enthusiastic about innovation. "The harder it looks, the more it interests me . . . creating things, changing things, beating down doors . . ." On the other hand, an adult of 48-52 may detect more ambiguous characteristics. "I'm a character full of paradoxes." In short, this self-knowledge makes a person of 48-52 more aware and more expert so he can see the scope of his action and appropriate ways of changing his trajectory.

2.1.2.3 *The spectre of illness*

An adult of 48-52 says that health is a much appreciated gift but he lives with the spectre of illness. He considers a harmonious physiological state the greatest of assets: "The future always lies in health." He feels very favoured in this respect. "I can count myself lucky, I've never seen a doctor." "I've always had a good salary, good health." But the spectre of physical decline lurks in the background. "I'm getting older . . . I can feel health problems coming on." The spectre brings out the finite nature of his existence. "Like a lot of other people, I have to say, 'Today is the first day of the rest of my life.' " The spectre conjures up economic insecurity. "I can't afford to get sick." There are harbingers: "My physical capabilities are starting to fall off and that bothers me." The spectre of illness brings to the fore the discrepancy between waning physical capacities and growing responsibilities. "You think you'll always be able to do as much but you can't manage quite as much . . . But since your activities don't slacken, and your work doesn't either, well, sooner or later, something has to give."

2.2 Are there many variations in states of questioning?

2.2.1 *Quantitative findings*

2.2.1.1 *Compilation method*

To answer this question in quantitative terms, we examined the oscillations in the curves drawn by the subjects. In Figure I above, for example, between two years there may be no variation (as for the theme "job changes" over eleven years), a variation of 0.15 degrees (as between the first and second

prospective years for "abilities-skills") or a variation of nearly three degrees (as between the second and third prospective years for "immediate superior"). We looked at all the variations, from 0.15 degree up, on the curves drawn by the subjects. This threshold was chosen because whenever a person drew a variation of 0.15 degree, he was able to explain it with reference to a corresponding work experience.

2.2.1.2 *Results*

Table I shows a very high incidence of variations in degrees of questioning among adults age 48-52. From the totals, the incidence is in the order of 78% for retrospective years and 65% for prospective years. The detailed results are given in the table. In the first retrospective year, 68% of the subjects drew one or more variations (P) while 32% did not (A). For the first prospective year, 71% drew variations (P) and 29% did not (A), and so on.

TABLE I

Subjects age 48-52 broken down by presence (P) or absence (A) of "variations" in retrospective and prospective individual curves

Subjects n = 89	Year													
	1		2		3		4		5		6*		Total	
	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A
Retrospective and current year (sixth)	68	32	69	31	77	23	80	20	88	12	86	14	78	22
Prospective	71	29	67	33	66	34	57	43	—	—	—	—	65	35

* The sixth year is the current year.

2.2.2 *Qualitative findings*

What adults of 48-52 say about these variations in degrees of questioning has mainly to do with changes in the trajectory which may be modest or subtle changes.

2.2.2.1 *Subtle changes*

A subtle adjustment of the trajectory translates into a permutation of vocational values. Social usefulness and altruistic concern take on priority as regards the nature of occupational tasks. "I'm in music, but I'm most interested in the

social work attached to my position. Strange, isn't it?" An adult of 48-52 even goes as far as making this priority his sole objective: "I think I'm still capable of doing something more or better to help people be happy"; "One of the reasons why I'm still here after five years is because I still think I can help people be happier." This concept of social usefulness seems to replace the idea of social success that seemed to predominate among people under forty. This age group could even be described as the social worker group. These people tell us little about the cases for which they are responsible. Instead, they like to tell how they have tried to make their work more human.

Adults of this age express their altruistic concerns first of all in terms of dogma or postulates. They believe everyone has his social usefulness: "More and more, I believe each person has his role to play, whatever his work may be." Adults of 48-52 also state postulates of interdependent effectiveness: "What I do isn't any more important than what someone else does. What's important is that each person does what is expected of him." Sometimes, a person of 48-52 expresses his altruistic concern in terms of a demanding challenge: "I'm happy with my work, but I'm far from satisfied when I think of how much human warmth I could put into my work environment, for myself and other people." He also looks for a more hospitable and genuine climate. "I'm looking for a network where there would be really good human relations. At the same time, I want to stay in closer contact with nature." An adult of 48-52 clarifies his altruistic preoccupations by making some aspects concrete, and he strives to be more whole-hearted and more compassionate in carrying out his work. "I want to feel personally involved in my work, not just an administrative cog." Sometimes he sees it as his business to civilize the boss. "My boss is a tartar. I've taken on the challenge of making him more human, and I'm succeeding." He wants to take an interest in other people's problems and spend more time on them. "I think it's important to take time to listen to other people, especially when you're in administration." Moreover, people of 48-52 identify humanitarian achievements as criteria of job success. "I want to end my life deeply satisfied that I've had a reasonable influence on something useful." This criterion for occupational success may show in very subtle indicators. "I know I have some influence, some social usefulness for a few people . . . and in the long term, over the years, you realize that you've had some influence. You mustn't expect immediate results." This discretion about success criteria calls for a more microscopic vision of one's social usefulness. "I have fewer illusions now, for I don't think I'm going

to change or revolutionize the world. I know that I've done some socially useful work all the same, but mainly at the individual level, not so much for the community." A person of 48-52 also refers to the obvious indicators of other people's social usefulness. "I really admire the woman who does my hair (when I go) or one who's a good cook. I think it's wonderful how social roles complement one another." Altruistic concern translates into concrete achievements. "I have the impression I've created a good atmosphere at the office. It's like a family here." He judges social usefulness to be an essential work objective, for without this goal, work would be practically meaningless. "I don't understand how people can work without ever having the satisfaction of saying they've done something for somebody." People are frustrated if they do not see that they have been effective. "You don't see the social usefulness of individual work." "In a big outfit like this, you may be useful but not visible . . . you don't see your social usefulness." Finally, an adult of 48-52 interprets some workers' reactions as resulting from a perception of their social uselessness. "I think people try to let off steam because they don't perform at work as well as they'd like. It's pretty well the same everywhere."

2.2.2.2 *Modest changes*

Changes show as modest alterations of vocational behaviour. In his normal approach to work, the person of this age inserts his own formulae or devices to help him adjust more calmly or more positively to the demands of his work. These modest changes of trajectory cover a very wide range. For example, the person may add interests or activities related to work. "You have to have recreation." He tries to imagine minor changes. "I like finding new things in my work." He seeks out day-to-day challenges. "I'm still growing all the time. This isn't a routine job. There are always things that are still interesting, stimulating and demanding." A person of 48-52 uses his ingenuity to think up little ways to keep on developing. "Even if you've been doing the same job for a long time, there are still ways of improving." Faced with a frustration, he puts his energy into finding another attitude. "My first concern is to acquire a second nature to meet my daily needs and cope with my work." He tries to worry less. "I worried too much about nothing, but you go through phases like that in life." He plans tactics so as to adapt better to new technology. "At my age, I don't feel any connection with the computer. I have to make a bigger effort. I was a bit afraid . . ." An adult of 48-52 believes that the best way of coming to terms with the work environment is to begin by being comfortable at home. "You have to be satisfied with

your life outside work and be happy with the people around you. Then when you come to the office you don't have things on your mind. To be happy at work, you have to be happy at home." Sometimes, an adult of 48-52 may believe the opposite: "If you don't manage to make any progress at the office, you have problems with everything else"; "The reason I feel good is because I have an interesting career." As family roles become less important, he tries to take a greater interest in work. "My work is more important to me than it used to be because I don't have a family any more. My children have left home." An adult of 48-52 seeks to emphasize new occupational roles. "It makes you feel really good when people come to you for advice." He does not want to run away and hide in habits that deny his selfhood. "In my working life, I have a growing impression that my managerial work is mechanical, I'm getting mechanical myself." A good recipe for modestly changing trajectory would be to allow for the fullness of one's being. "The individual is a whole. At one and the same time I'm a father, an intimate friend of one of my colleagues and so forth. The individual is a whole that must be taken into account." An adult of 48-52 gives himself time to reflect. He stresses how essential these times are. "When you work, you're short of time to think deeply about the meaning of life." He schedules time specifically for this. "For me, the important thing when I leave work in the evening is to find myself. To have silence and find myself." Health problems are considered healthy because they make people think. "Illness shouldn't be seen as bad luck. It gives you a chance to reflect, to slow down a bit." A person of this age makes a cult of reflection, and even goes so far as to consider major health changes a stroke of luck. "You have to live with illness. A coronary may be one of those illnesses that give you a chance in life so you can go back a bit and ask yourself where you've come from and where you're going."

2.3 At 48-52, do people go from a state of questioning to a state of organization?

2.3.1 *Quantitative findings*

2.3.1.1 *Compilation method*

To answer this question, we must first go back to the critical decision threshold (6.08 degrees in Figures I and II) used to distinguish two groups in the scale of questioning. This threshold is explained in the findings for Figure II. We calculated the frequency with which individual curves cross the threshold below which is a state of questioning and above which is a state of reorganization.

2.3.1.2 *Results*

Table II shows that in all, 82% of the adults age 48-52 say they have gone (retrospective) or expect to go from a state of questioning to a state of reorganization or vice versa. The percentage is distributed differently according to the number of curves. For example, 24% of the subjects go from one state to another on two curves: this is the case with the subject whose curves are as shown in Figure I (curves b and d above). In addition, 18%, 12% and 10% respectively pass from one state to another on three, four or five curves. The findings also reveal the frequency and intensity with which the subjects change states.

TABLE II

Subjects age 48-52 broken down according to whether or not they pass from one stage to another on their individual curves

	Yes						No
Subjects	Curve frequency (%)						
	1	2	3	4	5	Subtotal	
n = 91	18	24	18	12	10	18	18

2.3.2 *Qualitative findings*

What adults of 48-52 say about these transitions from one state to the other relates mainly to changes of trajectory which may be obvious, impossible to achieve or deferred.

2.3.2.1 *Obvious changes*

In some cases, adults of 48-52 make alterations that are accompanied by quite noticeable changes. They have little to say about the tenor of these alterations, however. They deliberately remain silent about their content: "I have a plan already made . . ." They like to be vague. "Probably I'm going to leave my managerial position and go work full time on my farm."

A person of 48-52 is more talkative about the reasons for making conspicuous changes. One group of reasons relates to his perception of himself as an essentially changing individual. He keeps statistics on time spent in one position or another. "After three or four years in a job, I start to look around." He defines himself as an occupational nomad. "In my career, I've always changed jobs. I taught for six years,

then I directed a teaching program for six years. After that I spent three years in Africa. For the past four years I've been in teacher training, but I expect to make another change soon." An adult of 48-52 may sometimes consider himself a vocational bohemian. "In terms of my career, I live from day to day." "I don't know what I'm going to be two years from now. I don't have a career plan. I'm a guy who's shaped by events as much as I shape events. So where will I be two years from now? I don't know." A person of 48-52 makes it a point of honour not to be redundant. "I change jobs fairly often. I don't want to get into a rut." He feels continually motivated to make changes. "I've never kept a job more than seven years. I enjoy changing." If a person of this age does not make a change, he at least asserts that he is always prepared to study the possibility of a change. "Before choosing a job, I begin by sizing up the situation. I try to find out as much as possible so I'll know whether I'm capable of doing the job." The second set of reasons which make a person want noticeable changes has to do with the fact that he defines himself as an evolving person. "I look for a job that will let me find out new things, learn . . ." Despite some signs of weariness, he is preoccupied with the continuity of his evolution. "It goes with a fairly constant concern about progressing . . . new discoveries are interesting, but at the same time they always mean challenges . . . which make it interesting but wearing." He keeps wanting to surpass himself, more and more. "I'm still moving forward, looking for ways of growing more." He keeps reviewing his assessment with a critical eye. "I make big demands on myself, I question myself . . . Am I satisfied, am I pleased with myself?" He shows realistic vitality. "The harder something looks, the more it interests me . . . creating things, making changes, beating down doors." A third group of reasons for making major changes relates to avoiding the increasing deterioration of work. The person wants to counteract the dullness of his working life. "There are many changes in my life. They've always been motivated by a wish to break the monotony." He wants to relieve himself of burdensome responsibilities. "Last year, I decided to leave things. My work always keeps me tied up in all kinds of things: chairman of this, president of that . . . dinners and all that kind of thing." He can no longer stand being pushed around and told what to do. "Now I won't stand for schedules being juggled around arbitrarily. I won't stand for my work life getting in the way of my personal life." An adult of 48-52 thus wants to avoid occupational decadence. "You really want your work to have a genuine impact, but it doesn't, and that depresses me. So quite likely I'll go someplace else very

soon." A fourth group of motives for conspicuous changes relates to the desire to grow faster. A person of this age wants to be enriched constantly. "At the moment I'm getting ready for a change of jobs, and that stimulates me. It lets me develop other skills." He insists on stimulating situations. "New technology, new specialties . . . it shows how fast your training gets out of date, but it suits one of my constant concerns, which is to progress." He is anxious that he and his opinions should be respected. "I don't like to be led, in one area or another, that's for sure. I have a very independent mind and character. I'd give up $5,000 in salary to keep my independence without batting an eye. Nobody is going to catch me with a status that has a little more lustre for the public eye. What matters is that the bosses take my opinion into consideration. I won't put up for long with people paying no attention to what I say or what I think." An adult of 48-52 demands a certain modicum of autonomy. "I can tell you that where I used to work, there were a lot of restrictions. I would never have stayed. I didn't have any freedom at all in my work. It may not be like that everywhere there, but I found it unpleasant." A fifth group of motives for conspicuous changes relates to being able to organize one's time properly. A person of 48-52 wants to compensate himself for being unable to take some time off. "For me, the equivalent of a temporary retreat, which I can't manage because I'm the only one working, is changing jobs. Even if I won the lottery, that's what I'd do." He wants to synchronize his free time with that of the people around him. "I changed jobs so I'd have holidays at the same time as everybody else." He wants to be available to spend time on recreation and his family. "I was getting less and less time for recreation, the family . . . so I decided to take things easier — but not because I'm afraid of having too many responsibilities."

A person age 48-52 makes major alterations mainly by means of changes in the environment. He uses events to his advantage. "Departures in my career never came from my own initiative; it was always events that led me to change." He accepts the challenges put before him. "If I'm given new responsibilities, personally I take them. I have ever since I came here. That's always helped me get ahead." He attributes his vocational advancement to factors in the environment: "There are events that force you to move forward."

Finally, a person of 48-52 gives his advice about conspicuous changes in trajectory and expresses it in terms of manpower policy. He maintains, for example, that changes can be made more equitably and with feasibility guarantees. "In the same company, the way things work now that everything is programmed . . . I see a danger a man or a woman will

always be restricted to the same work . . . I'm afraid he will become dehumanized and unmotivated because he knows that next week, he'll have to do the same thing as two weeks ago, in the same way, at the same place. I say it's good to have transfers, changes to motivate the employee . . . first of all to help him learn and know more about his surroundings and his work. I think that helps the employer as well as the employee." A person age 48-52 is in favour of more aggressive approaches to altering the trajectory. "In big outfits, you have to be aggressive to make progress. Sometimes you even have to push people. It's the strongest animals that survive: they eat the weakest and shove the smallest out of the way. It's a lot like that among humans. You see it more among new Canadians than among French-Canadians. It's the principle that the strongest gets it." As a result, he recommends independent, progressive behaviour. "If a person wants to take control of himself, he mustn't wait for other people." An adult of 48-52 suggests coupling work with other occupational activities as much as possible. "I used to combine work with travel, now I combine my work with running a farm, solely for my personal satisfaction." He suggests making change in stages: "What I do outside my regular work is help refugees become integrated into Quebec life, and I give French lessons, mainly to people who don't know our alphabet. Gradually I'm going to increase the time I spend on this work from twenty per cent to a hundred per cent." This person lived with miners who ruined their health and is laying down the basis for a manpower policy that protects this type of worker.

.3.2.2 *Unachievable changes*

In some cases, changes seem quite impossible. A person of 48-52 would like to make them but a large set of obstacles prevents him. One set comes from the person himself. Lack of basic vocational training is a major hindrance. "I can't go any higher, I don't have the education. All through my life I've suffered for not having enough education." The organizational level of a person's trade may be a problem. "I think I could give more. I'm still an unskilled labourer at forty-eight, and it's hard." Insufficient obligations to suit a person's skill are also a hindrance: "There's not enough responsibility for me at work." "Here, I'd be capable of taking one more." Lack of consultation in the organization also creates barriers. "I think our performance would be better if we were consulted." Age is identified as a difficulty in itself. "If I were young, I'd say I'd go and do something, but . . ." A person of 48-52 speaks of shrinking ambitions. "I have fewer illusions than I used to, for I don't believe I'm going to

change the world." He does expect any more promotions: "I don't fool myself. What I do, I do for myself. I have certain responsibilities but I don't kid myself about having a position." Furthermore, a person may think quick evolution is not for him: "A man goes through fewer changes between forty-five and fifty-five than between twenty and twenty-five. When he's that young, he may have opinions about everything, but at forty-five to fifty-five, the guy has reached a certain stage, a certain level, where he adjusts to circumstances." On the other hand, the environment seems to push the person onto the back shelf. "I may grow older, but of course I don't think of myself as old. But you know at work, when you hit fifty-two, you're a second-class citizen, unless you're really brilliant and you've got connections." He is considered too old to be given his first contract in a new organization. "At thirty-five, you're already starting to be old. Employers prefer to hire young people because they can domesticate them." The conditions in the environment seem to hold them at the same level. "I was interested in having the position because I knew the guy was retiring . . . but . . ." The possibility of obtaining a promotion failed to materialize. "I dreamed of getting promotions but I've realized that was a pipe dream. I'm going to stay at this low level." Attempts to secure appointments fail repeatedly: "For six years, I worked to get a position. I had all the qualifications, but the position went to somebody else." The person of 48-52 also emphasizes how his occupation fails to jibe with his personality. "I'd like work planning to correspond to my way of operating, my tastes, my aptitudes and my interests, but that doesn't happen with my work. We can't plan according to our personality, and it's dehumanizing. They don't make allowance for how each person functions. There's a piece of work to be done and you have to fit into it." He deplores the dehumanization of work: "The planning is tied in with the system we live under. It makes us uncomfortable because we feel our opportunities are restricted." He testifies to the demoralizing effect of work: "Working just for the sake of working and passing the time, that's the most depressing thing in the world, and I don't know if there's anybody who can put up with that." Furthermore, a person of 48-52 finds the environment stultifying. "I've been in this section for six years. When you first come, there are interesting things, but the time comes when things don't get better." The environment is seen as absurd. "Personally, I like to be involved in decisions, but sometimes I have to make a big effort to bring myself into line, for we have to respect the authorities. The consultation is a farce." Management is blamed for letting work become

enervating. "It's not up to me to make my work more human, it's my superiors who are supposed to." A person of 48-52 considers himself impotent, for he has no alternative but to bow to instructions. "I'm not paid to make decisions. I just accept them." Moreover, only the management benefits from the employee's effective performance. "It's big, impersonal. You're just a number. The boss takes the credit for deals if there are any." Socio-economic conditions are another obstacle to changing the trajectory. "It's harder here, but the salary is better." "I knew it wouldn't be interesting, but I took this job for the money." Furthermore, adults of 48-52 identify continuous change as something that hinders them from changing their trajectory. "I never get to the end of anything. You try for perfection, but you never get it, because there are so many changes."

Another difficulty stems from collective agreements. A person finds that if he wanted to work part-time so as to become involved in other vocational activities, he would be penalized. "In two-income households, neither partner can have a chance to stop working temporarily. The collective agreements make it hard because people don't know what they can do. For example, people who have been working a long time could be allowed to work part-time, and keep their benefits."

.3.2.3 *Deferred changes*

Sometimes, an adult of 48-52 postpones changes in his trajectory. He is vague about the nature of these coming alterations: "I'm preparing myself for retirement. I've been thinking about it for five years." He hopes for a calm life in his golden years. "I hope I won't right up to age sixty-five. I hope I'll be able to stop, so I can have a good old age." An adult of 48-52 sees the vital necessity of stopping eventually. "After working in the mines for thirty-five years, I'm aware that it's important to retire." He hopes to rest after building up economic security. "I'd like to earn a lot of money and then sit down with my wife and my son." In other cases, a person of 48-52 has more specific plans for deferred changes. "My dream for the future is to work full time with refugees." These deferred changes mean a new departure. "I'm going to retire at fifty-one. I'm really happy. I'm thinking about having another career in something else, a short one. I'm not going to do nothing. I'm delighted, even though I know financially it will be a big challenge." Altruistic actions are to be worked into future changes. "I'd like to be more active in community work. That's why I'd like to retire early. It would let me do things in that area." The changes left until later are to leave more room for recreation or work-

ing with the hands. "You can keep on working after retirement. I'll have other things as hobbies. I'm able to work with my hands." A person of 48-52 is not afraid of boredom or emptiness when the deferred change takes place. "Personally, I'm not worried about retirement. I'm handy with most things. I do all kinds of sports and it keeps me fit. I'm a do-it-yourselfer." "I can't wait till I retire so I can leave here and be free. I'm going to work two or three days a week." A person of this age may have other emotional reactions to these deferred changes. He may be anxious: "I see some of my colleagues who are nearing retirement and are awfully uncomfortable. How would I feel myself?" He may be confident: "In one way it worries me . . . this work with old people. You could imagine your family, you could imagine yourself at that age. Maybe you'll be able to find activities instead of doing nothing like them. I've learned, in a way." The agonies of economic insecurity go with these deferred changes. "If the cost of living keeps going up, retiring is going to be a worry." "I calculate that the last years of my life are going to enable me to take my retirement. That gives me security. I have to be able to cope with inflation later on."

2.4 Exceptional navigators

Some adults of 48-52 have to be described as exceptional navigators in altering their trajectory. This fifteen per cent has much the same work experiences as the rest, but they differ from others of their age in several respects. One difference is their greater skill or instrumentation for analysing the various co-ordinates in the interaction between self and environment. We noted earlier that all adults of 48-52, after searching for the guiding thread to their history around age 43-47, possess a data base on two dimensions, the development of their vocational self and that of their work environment. Exceptional navigators seem not only to have this data base but also to possess a computer which enables them to process the data over time. In addition, the computer gives them information about a third dimension, namely the development of relations between the self and the environment. This makes them better able to keep on adjusting the changes in their trajectory so that they can keep the two forces in balance.

Another difference is that this smaller group does not alter trajectory so much to accommodate all the data on the self-environment development, nor to reconcile the different forces or requirements pressing on them. The exceptional navigators succeed in taking personal forces into account along with social expectations but distancing themselves

from these two sets of demands. They co-ordinate a balance between these two forces so that their personal development comes first but allowance is made for the factors confronting them in the job market. They alter their trajectory mainly in the form of a tacit coalition or a mutualistic association so that both sides benefit reciprocally from this union in their development without preying upon each other. These exceptional navigators give emotional support to other workers, lay the foundations for labour policy and are motivated by deep concern for social usefulness. In return, the job market reinforces their vocational *raison d'être*, giving them opportunities to take on challenges, feel useful and remain in contact with active socio-economic life. In other words, exceptional navigators alter their trajectory, not by compromising but by making an alliance for evolution. They realize that one of the preconditions for their own growth is harmony in the evolution of the forces surrounding them, namely their personal needs and the demands of occupational roles.

A third difference between exceptional navigators and other adults of 48-52 lies in the paradox that connects two seeming opposites, namely self-centredness and other-centredness. Exceptional navigators are driven to be very self-centred so that they can concentrate quite strongly on their inner life. This concentration on the purpose of their own evolution enables them to choose wisely among the various ways of altering their trajectory. The surprising and seemingly paradoxical fact is that this self-centredness brings exceptional navigators very close to other people's self-centredness or to the self-centredness of humanity in general. Thinking about the data on the development of their vocational self gives them insight into the development of the environment, for the self develops in the environment. Then they feel like communicating, because they feel more in touch with themselves, and are aware that at the same time they are more in touch with other people's selves. A professional, the head of a flourishing business, decided to opt for an advisory position so that he could act as an advisor during the day and spend his evenings writing about the history and prospects of his corporation at the national and international levels. He was firmly convinced that this brought him closer to the intimate experiences of his colleagues in the profession, and he wanted to keep contact with them through advice or description.

A fourth difference is how boldly these people change their trajectory. Not that they plunge blindly into the unknown as a younger person might do: they take bold but calculated risks. They are like tightrope walkers who have

such a firm grasp of the law of gravity (or the pressures of self and environment) and of their options that they can set out on a tightrope and keep perfect balance while they push back the frontiers of their potential.

3 Interpretation of results and conclusions

3.1 Conclusions regarding the theoretical framework

3.1.1 *Findings consistent with the model*

The results seem to corroborate some aspects of the basic model having to do with nature of the process and the characteristics specific to the various periods of an adult's working life. People of 48-52 do seem to pursue their vocational development through periods of questioning followed or preceded by periods of reorganization. Moreover, we observed a feature specific to the vocational experience of adults of this age, namely that they are concerned with altering their trajectory.

3.1.2 *Incomplete findings*

The incomplete findings relate mainly to the type of questioning experienced by adults of 48-52. Our results show that the phase experienced by this age group corresponds neither to a period of reorganization nor to a period of questioning as described in the model, which refers to questioning about goals (vocational objectives, work identity and so forth). What our results show is that people 48-52 go through a period of questioning about ways of changing their trajectory rather than the ends of their vocational development. Thus the model should be more explicit with regard to the nature of the questioning. It could also bring out the necessity for a permanent state of questioning experienced by the individual in pursuing his development. This necessity would justify adopting, by analogy, the theory that vocational ageing is a product of chance rather than of a pre-programmed decline.

Montplaisir, Dufour and Côté (1980, p 33) mention two basic hypotheses about the origin of ageing in biological terms. According to the first theory, ageing results from controlled, programmed degeneration which is determined by genes; a person begins ageing according to a predetermined program right from the moment of conception. This theory even posits the existence of what may be called ageing genes that control the progressive manifestation of age.

The second hypothesis is that ageing results from accidental damage to cell structures which lead to disorganization. A myriad errors are constantly occurring in the organism in the various stages of cell division and protein synthesis. Cells are

normally capable of repairing these errors, but their corrective capacity diminishes when overtaxed.

After observing constant questioning among adults in different age groups, we should, it seems, adopt the theory of continuous development offset by numbers of accidents which cumulatively cause vocational development to taper off or stop. Permanent questioning could be a symptom of permanent motivation toward the development or corrective action that a person knows he is capable of, whether consciously or unconsciously. This lets him avoid the occupational events or accidents that could slow him down, and hence he may very well go on developing until the day he dies. Our findings about the permanence of questioning militate against the hypothesis of programmed ageing or inevitable vocational decline.

3.1.2 *Findings divergent from the model*

Our results bring out points that diverge from the model. The first postulate of the basic model was that vocational development continues right up to death, in different forms but with the same intensity. However, this conception of qualitatively different development seems not to be shared by some eighty-five per cent of adults in the 48-52 age bracket. In other words, these people seem to accept, more or less consciously or "under compulsion", a conception of their development based directly on the "biological model of stages".

According to the "direct biological model of stages" (Kohlberg 1973, p 181), development progresses gradually upward to about the age of thirty-five and later declines until retirement or death. Between thirty-five and fifty-five, an adult is in a holding phase where everything is fairly stable fixed, changeless or uneventful. The indicators that corroborate the acceptance of this conception by adults age 48-52 are the following reasons for altering trajectory: (1) to make their situation tolerable rather than to develop more quickly; (2) to build stability and hold their ground, with as little disturbance as possible; (3) to make concessions so as to conciliate the different forces and bring durable peace and stability; (4) to accommodate the forces confronting them while rejecting some personal development demands for the sake of occupational expectations; (5) to enjoy the privileges of the age where youth and wisdom meet, but not to use this situation as a springboard to boost their immediate development.

The exceptional navigators, however, who make up about fifteen per cent of the total, seem not to adopt this conception of vocational development based on the biological

model of stages. They seem to correspond more closely to the basic model, for they seem to see themselves as on a development continuum. They see the period they are passing through as a unique whole with its own value, specific characteristics, intensity and assessment criteria. They appear to care most about changing their trajectory in such a way that they can pursue their vocational development while keeping a data base that gives them the mastery of the twin development of self and environment. For them, an accommodation is inspired only by a wish for stability. In contrast, a growth-oriented coalition or alliance of the two forces is motivated by a desire for faster vocational development against the background of harmoniously developing occupational structures. They use the vitality of their youth. Their wisdom helps them develop more quickly by removing obstacles.

Do those who adhere to the conception of development based on the biological model of stages pay a price? Could it be this sixfold price?

(1) Not using the many opportunities offered by the strength of youth and the wisdom of experience to pursue their development.
(2) Believing their identity will keep all the same characteristics unchanged in the years to come and not planning to go on putting their skills to good use.
(3) Not expanding their vocational interests so as to speed up their development and prepare for retirement in the long term.
(4) Not continuing to perfect their corrective powers for coping with negative occupational events or accidents. Continuous exercising of this power would make a substantial vocational decline in the years to come less likely.
(5) Not believing in their personal power to make personal growth a priority concern while meeting social expectations within reason.
(6) Freezing the growth of the data base on self-environment evolution and stopping the processing of such data that could reveal several possibilities or solutions for present and future vocational development.

In short, could the full price of subscribing to the biological model of stages be to let slip the opportunity of combining youth and wisdom? Could it be to handicap one's present and prospective development by not using this key period to change one's trajectory with positive benefits for the short, medium and long terms?

3.2 Practical implications

Our results with regard to adults age 48-52 may have several messages. The most important is that an adult of 48-52 should be given more help in exploiting to the full his privileged position where youth and wisdom meet. He should not alter his trajectory merely by adapting passively or compromising. He should be helped to make the change by finding a coalition of personal forces and social demands beneficial tc both sides.

More specific implications could be suggested for the various fields of practice with adults. *Vocational guidance,* for example, must gradually induce a person of 48-52 to do the following: (1) study his goals for changing trajectory; (2) analyse the underlying motivation for the change; (3) assess the impact of the proposed type of change; (4) exploit the newly released energy or use this key period to build some of the foundation for continuing development rather than swift and unnecessary decline. *Job counselling* should not match an individual's interests or skills statically with one occupation, for this would be accommocating the client to his environment rather than creating a growth-oriented alliance for the two. Assistance to adults of this age should be predicated on the characteristics of workers in this stage: (1) more disposed toward evolution than revolution; (2) more likely to be neutral or positive than negative toward creating a work atmosphere; (3) better able to take a broad view of events instead of interpreting them narrowly, and so forth. *Personnel management* should adopt policies favouring this motivation toward changing trajectory by means of simple provisions for occupational mobility, which could allow for both major and minor changes that would lend novelty to the work experience and, more important, allow people to go on learning. *Unions* should ask employers to introduce measures to promote motivation for changing trajectory, by increasing job mobility or making duties easier to take on. These provisions for mobility must not jeopardize other conditions already negotiated, such as job security, wage parity, transfer of pension funds and any other standard benefits. *Business organizers and community workers* should also promote mobility, and also make better use of adults of this age as advisors, since they are at the halcyon time of their working life where vitality and experience meet. The field of *testing* for counselling or job choices should definitely highlight the changing relations between self and environment that provide the basis for new departures or different occupational choices.

3.3 Conclusion

The results of this study imply that the vocational development of adults age 48-52 is essentially characterized by questioning about ways of making changes in their trajectory. After searching for the guiding thread to his history in the preceding period (age 43-47), an adult of 48-52 possesses a data base on the evolution of his vocational self and the occupational world. Integrating the data makes him feel a need to alter his trajectory, to change his behaviour or direction. His vocational experience comprises the following:

(1) position where youth and wisdom meet
(2) tested self-knowledge
(3) awareness of the spectre of illness
(4) subtle changes (social worker phase)
(5) modest changes (minor innovations)
(6) obvious changes (conspicuous alterations)
(7) unachievable changes (insurmountable obstacles)
(8) deferred changes (postponed until retirement).

In addition, our findings corroborate some parts of the vocational development model known as "a staircase model". First, adults seems to pursue their vocational development by passing through periods of questioning followed or preceded by periods of reorganization. Second, there are characteristics specific to the vocational experience of this age. The results also pointed to inadequacies in the basic model. A distinction should be drawn between two types of questioning, one having to do with means and the other with ends. We suggested adopting one of the two theories on the origin of ageing, the one which attributes deterioration to chance, so as to emphasize the necessity of permanent questioning for adults. Vocational development can avoid ageing or decline provided the individual uses and practices his corrective powers or his capacity to give healthy answers to his continuous questions.

Finally, the results show some discrepancies with the basic model. Only fifteen per cent of the subjects age 48-52 have a conception of qualitatively different development throughout adulthood. In contrast, eighty-five per cent have a conception of their development based directly on the biological model of stages, which posits similarity between the biological development curve and the vocational development curve. We have stressed the risks of subscribing to the biological model of stages. The implications we found extend to various fields of professional practice, with the basic message that adults of 48-52 should be helped to do the following: (a) alter their trajectory by a growth-oriented alliance between personal demands and social expectations rather

than compromising the pursuit of their vocational development; and (b) take the best advantage of combining youth with wisdom so as to create a key period in which their trajectory is changed in a way that will determine the quality of their growth.

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Vocational Development of Adults Age 53-57: Looking for a Promising Exit

Danielle Riverin-Simard, Ph D*
Associate Professor
Laval University

1 Introduction

Although the urgent need for research into the phenomenon of ageing has been recognized, few studies have dealt specifically with adults of fifty-five. Their vocational experience is taken together with that of everyone age forty and over, and very few particular features emerge. One is that a person of this age considers a career largely as a whole rather than as something that proceeds by stages or details (Hall, 1976). Another feature is a widespread difficulty with occupational mobility: a study of the literature and a survey of 1,100 workers confirmed that as people age, they feel less free to change jobs because finding an equally attractive job would be difficult (Lesage and Rice, 1980). There is also a major problem of human resource management: the danger of obsolescence among people over forty, including burnout and loss of effectiveness (Côté, 1980, Kets de Vries, 1978), seems to be related more to management and supervision rather than to age or the individual himself (Lewis, 1979, Lesage and Rice, 1980). For this period of life, measures are proposed to soften the impact of retirement by enabling people to become accustomed to it gradually or prepare for it better (Havighurst, 1982).

But what exactly is the vocational experience of people age 53-57? The present study has two objectives: to shed light on the vocational experience of adults age 53-57 and to test the validity of an adult vocational development model.

1.1 Theoretical framework (see preceding article)

1.2 Basic method (see preceding article)

*Assisted by the following graduate students: S Bilodeau, C Boily, L Fortin, G Guénard, C Morneau, A Riverin, S Robitaille, C Tremblay and M Wilscam, and the following undergraduates: V Lavoie, D Lemay, L Losier, J Pelletier, D Tardif and L Tremblay.

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Let us briefly review the method we used. Our sample of adults age 53-57 was broken down a priori according to three variables: sex, socio-economic status and work sector. Our 101 subjects in the 53-57 age bracket were distributed as follows: 52 males, of whom 19 belonging to socio-economic class I (lower), 15 to socio-economic class II (middle) and 18 to socio-economic class III (upper); 49 females, including 15 in socio-economic class I, 19 in socio-economic class II and 15 in socio-economic class III; 34 subjects worked in the private sector, 34 in the public sector and 33 in the para-public sector.

Figure I gives an example of the five individual curves of a subject age 53-57 and one general curve (the average of the five). The first point to note in this figure is that a high degree of questioning shows at the bottom, and a low degree at the top. Thus, in Figure I, the subject drew each curve on a separate chart, but we brought them together for purposes of illustration. In this example, note that the themes (chosen cards) "work after retirement" and "retirement" cause a low degree of questioning from the middle of the retrospective period onward. The theme "involvement in decisions" oscillates in the highest degrees of questioning over the same years.

Another point to note is that the five themes (cards) selected by the subjects are considered overall as equivalent (except as regards the question of specific concerns, which will be discussed later); for to begin with, we are interested in the degree of questioning associated with these topics rather than their nature. If, for example, two individuals record equal degrees of questioning on the five themes selected, although each chose five completely different themes, the two subjects are considered to be in an equivalent state of questioning.

2 Results

2.1 Do adults on the whole live in a state of questioning or reorganization?

2.1.1 *Quantitative findings*

To answer this question quantitatively, we drew a mean curve based on every subject's individual curves. Naturally, this mean curve is subject to a very strong regressive effect (imagine the mean of many curves like those illustrated in Figure I) which of course tends to even out any oscillations. This mean curve does, however, offer the advantage of showing the overall position of all the subjects. To determine whether this curve belonged overall to a state of questioning or a state of reorganization, we used a critical decision

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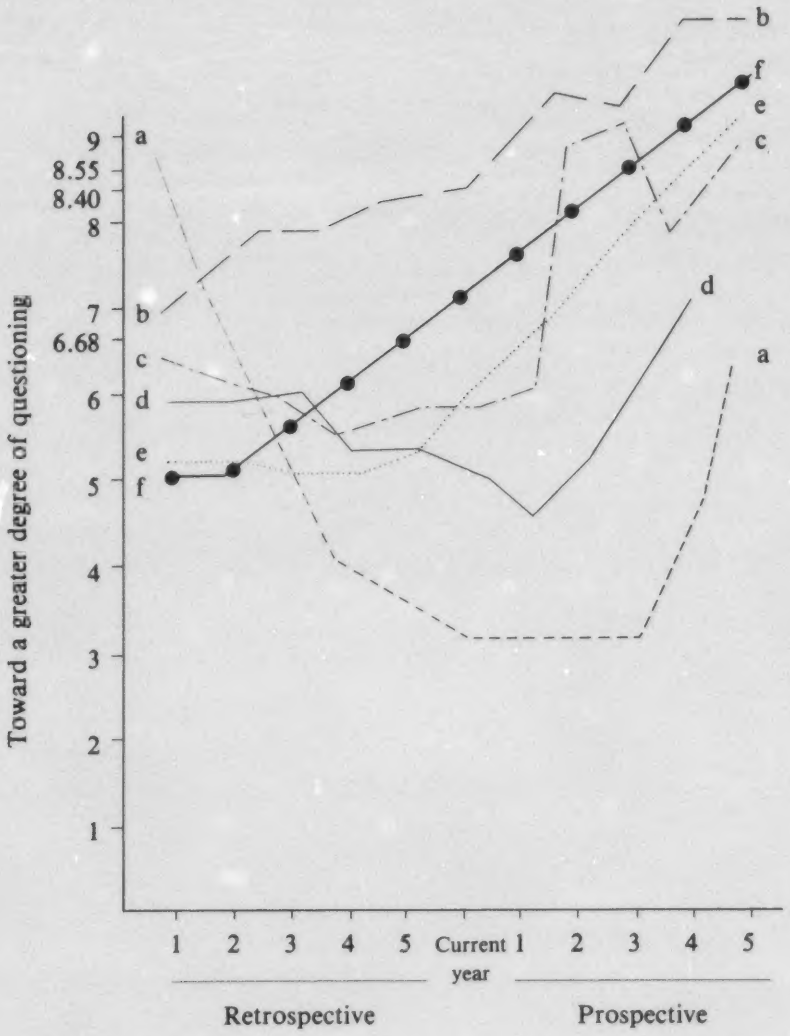
FIGURE I

Individual curves for a subject age 53-57 (example)



Legend

a Involvement in decisions
b Work after retirement
c General curve
d Challenges
e Unemployment
f Retirement

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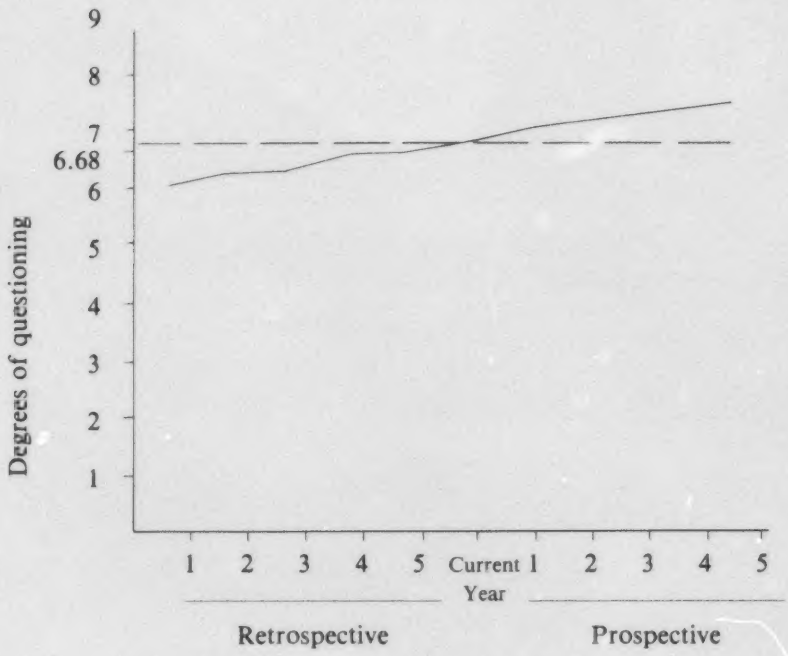
threshold to distinguish two levels on the scale of degrees of questioning. From the mean of our eight hundred subjects' curves, * we derived a critical threshold of 6.68 degrees. Figure I shows this threshold in the left margin. The degrees of questioning from 6.68 to 10 thus correspond to a minimal questioning state, which for purposes of this study will be called a "state of reorganization"; 6.67 and below corresponds to a "state of questioning".

Figure II shows that adults of 53-57 tend on the whole to record a state of questioning in the five years on which they look back and the present year.

FIGURE II

General curve for subjects age 53-57 (n = 101)



2.1.2 *Qualitative findings*

*Note that this article is one in a series presenting the results of a three-year study of nearly eight hundred adults in nine age groups covering a five-year span, from age 23-27 to age 63-67.

2.1.2.1 *Looking for a promising exit*

What people of 53-57 say about these data indicate that what they are questioning is the ends of their personal and vocational life. In essence, they are looking for a promising exit from the job market. Even though mandatory retirement has been abolished (in Quebec), they seem to consider they are in the final stage before the countdown to departure. Suddenly they feel face to face with the implacable finality of departure, even though it will probably not take place for another ten years. This situation leads to another set of questions, more basic and sometimes more disturbing. These questions, relate to the ultimate coming of death and the ending of vocational and biological life. An adult of 53-57 seems to try, in these final years of work, to emphasize his specific contribution to the environment. He asks these questions: How can I leave the job market gracefully? How can I emphasize my special contribution? How can I make people realize that I will be difficult, if not impossible, to replace? He worries about the possibility of not making a graceful exit from the job market. He experiences this stage rather as a time to prepare, perhaps under pressure, for a departure, to think about the last things he has to do before packing his bags. He is rather like an actor who, to end his show, prepares a number that touches on all the highlights of the evening so as to make his audience want to see and hear more. An adult of 53-57 seems to want to leave the work-place with an impression of a well-rounded career that benefited his employer or company. Also he wants to emphasize that whoever replaces him is not likely to do his work the same inimitable way as himself. As one subject said, facetiously but with underlying sincerity: "For all practical purposes I'm indispensable, aren't I?" In looking for a promising exit, an adult of 53-57 may also compare himself to the composer of a piece of music who is dreaming up the finale to it. First he sketches in the melody, then he composes the most basic or important passages to be emphasized, and he composes a finale to point up these themes with brio or solemnity. Thus looking for a promising exit means trying to strike a balance between an idealized departure and a realistic departure. A person of this age experiences a greater or lesser shock, depending on his first analysis; for it is this analysis that shows him his real chances (allowing for last-minute adjustments) of making the ideal or auspicious exit. He plans a whole series of actions to accentuate his contribution to work or to make good any short-comings as quickly as possible. He may feel very comfortable or on the contrary, he may find the situation is irretrievable.

Parallel to his search for a promising exit, a person of 53-57 must cope with a dilemma due partly to his environment. He is faced with two alternatives that offer obvious social sanctions or rewards simultaneously. If he chooses to keep on performing at top capacity, society rewards him for his effectiveness, but at the same time, it punishes him by showing him that his performance leaves him a physical wreck (tired or even exhausted). If he opts to slacken his output, society rewards him by intimidating that his abilities are waning and he should make room for younger people, but at the same time, it punishes him by telling him he ought to have a grip on himself and push himself into steady independent vocational development right up to the end of his career.

2.1.2.2 *Questions about the finite nature of life*

As stated earlier, a person of 53-57 feels suddenly face to face with the implacable finality of leaving the job market. This gives rise to disturbing questions about death, the finite nature of life in general and his life in particular. At first, a person of 53-57 seems to identify retirement with death, because to him, work is synonymous with life: "Work is part of life. For tw[illegible] years, I've worked ten or twelve hours a day." Work is felt as a major source of energy. "Occupational demands are the driving force of my life." Work even seems to be an antidote to illness or death. "If I'm sick one morning, I go to the office and I feel better, for once you're there, you're so caught up in the heat of the action that you forget all about it." Retirement is viewed as a bridge that cannot be crossed again once the other side is reached. "When I retire, I'll feel the same way as you feel when you decide to take a trip. Finally you're sitting in the plane, though it hasn't taken off, and you say "Whew!" because you've burned your boats behind you, and you're finally free from your daily worries and the load you carry all the time." Leaving the job market is considered as a final and very different stage of life. "Retirement is another phase of life starting up."

A general state of fatigue is another factor added to the prospect of retirement that provokes these anguishing questions about the ending of life. The person realizes that he must slow down his work rhythm. "I'm fifty-seven, I'm tired of working nine to five. I'm in good health, but now I want to think about myself." "I don't mind the work because I can do it, but I don't want to take chances, I mustn't wear myself out." This adult realizes that he has too many occupational obligations. "I'm carrying the full load. I have to think about my purchases, I have to think about my

employees' wages, everybody's schedules . . . I have far too many responsibilities." The sum of all these duties to be done leads to a disturbing state of fatigue. "I've taken on all sorts of responsibilities, and now I'm dead on my feet, exhausted. I tell myself I can't take any more. I have to conserve my strength a bit." A person of 53-57 complains of this unbearable state of overall tiredness. "Sometimes when I come home I'm burnt out, but I've still enjoyed my day's work. That's age. At forty, I could have done ten times as much and not been as exhausted, it's to be expected." People feel tired day after day. "After a day at work, I've had enough, I'm worn out." Sometimes, this overwork is discussed more rationally. "When you get older, you lose some of your strength." The state of exhaustion is often connected with physical problems that affect performance. "To some extent, I was afraid to make decisions. It's connected with my illness." In some cases, the physical change is quite severe. "I had a coronary. After that you have to change your life completely. You can't have the same ambitions, you can't look at things the same way." Weakening brings painful forebodings about lifespan. "I don't have long to live. I've had several coronaries, but my family has to eat. We'll try to get through." Sometimes predictions are mistaken. "I always felt I wouldn't live to retire." Sometimes an adult of 53-57 looks at death optimistically. "It gives me a high. Death is part of life." "I'm heading for the top." Life takes on more importance. "I think you mellow when you get past forty. Before, you have a lot of worries, and you're less aware that life is really something . . ." This occasionally positive conception of the end of biological life seems due to the wisdom brought by age. "I have the impression that as I grow older, I'm going to feel more comfortable with death." "When you get old, you see death more positively." On the other hand, the finite nature of life and the presence of death always create some anguish. "Old age bothers me," said one person in a very sad voice. Some people feel at a loss. "I see myself getting older and I ask myself, what am I going to do?" Fear sometimes makes people react aggressively when the question of their occupational future crops up. "I don't want to talk about the future. Nobody can predict the future." An adult of 53-57 even seems to defy the person he is talking to. "Is there anyone who is able to say what the future will bring, except for a fortune-teller?" But the person has formed patterns of behaviour to deal with the presence of death or the ending of life. "You mustn't live to die, but you have to be aware that you could die any day." He would like other people to have the same attitude. "Personally, I think you can live quite well and comfortably pro-

vided you face up to death, you reconcile it to yourself. If someone hasn't faced up to death and is afraid of it, I think he has problems he hasn't even begun to solve and he's refusing to look at them. For me, it's as simple as that now . . . Death is to make you live better. I know I'm not going to die. There's just a moment of physical death, no more."

2.2 Are there many variations in states of questioning?

2.2.1 *Quantitative findings*

For a quantitative answer to this question, we turned to the oscillations in the curves drawn by the subjects. In Figure I for example, between two years there may be no variations (as for the theme "involvement in decisions" at the start of the prospective period), a variation of 0.15 degree (between the fifth retrospective year and the current year for "work after retirement") or a variation of two degrees (between the first and second prospective year for the theme "involvement in decisions"). We looked at all the variations, from 0.15 degree up, on the curves drawn by the subjects. This threshold was chosen because whenever a person drew a variation of 0.15 degree, he was able to explain it with reference to a corresponding work experience.

Table I shows a very high incidence of variations in degrees of questioning among adults age 53-57. From the totals, the incidence is in the order of 79% for retrospective years and 67% for prospective years. The detailed results are given in the same table. In the first retrospective year and the first prospective year, 72% of the subjects drew one or more variations (P) while 28% did not (A) and so on.

TABLE I

Subjects age 53-57 broken down by presence (P) or absence (A) of "variations" in retrospective and prospective individual curves

Subjects n = 89	Year 1		2		3		4		5		6*		Total	
	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A
Retrospective and current year (6th)	72	28	77	23	75	25	83	17	81	19	83	17	79	21
Prospective	72	28	70	30	65	35	59	41	—	—	—	—	67	23

* The sixth year is the current year.

2.2.2 *Qualitative findings*

What adults of 53-57 say about these variations in degrees of questioning relates to privileged, active and calm searches for a promising exit.

2.2.2.1 *Privileged search for a promising exit*

In these cases, the adult of 53-57 describes himself first and foremost as a workaholic. "I have trouble stopping . . ." He also enjoys his occupation very much. "I'm going to have a hard time if I have to leave that job. I think I'd go and take my turn every week." When he has the option, he surrounds himself with a team he trains and develops so that it can carry on his work. When the time for retirement comes, he will still be there in spirit if not in the flesh. He expects to feel that he has been very useful and take comfort in the thought that the primary objectives of his vocational life will still be furthered by other people's efforts. An adult of 53-57 states that in earlier years, his main objective was to improve his skills and performance. At present, he feels much more concerned about the effectiveness of his team. He helps the team implement tried and true work methods. He also trains the team members so that they will be able to carry on and themselves train future members. He delegates a great many tasks to this team. "I couldn't do all the work they do by myself. Even if I put in a lot of time, I couldn't manage." As a rule, he says he is strict with his staff. "I demand an awful lot from my staff because I demand a lot from myself." However, he shows almost absolute trust in the work they do co-operatively. "Planning with other team members is extremely important because it's individual people that make the company work." Thus the person seems to believe that if he manages to equip his team with the means and the motivation to take over his efforts and carry them through, he will have put his mark on the organization for many years to come. Hence the immediate project he sets for himself is to think of other concrete stratagems to hand on or hand down. "I have every opportunity of inventing something useful and I'm even encouraged to." These stratagems will ensure that as many as possible of the ideals he envisages for his company or employer are achieved.

2.2.2.2 *Active search for a promising way out*

This type of search means that the adult of 53-57 is keen to keep on showing dynamism and effectiveness, in his own eyes and in those of his employer or work colleagues. This active search has three phases. First he sums up his activities

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on the job market in positive terms, then he asserts categorically that he himself has unrivalled merits and finally he lays down basic principles for the organization of work.

This active search for a promising exit shows first of all (first phase) in a positive summing up by the person of 53-57. He emphasizes how his work has benefited his socio-economic surroundings as well as himself. "The experience I acquired on the job market with my earlier jobs was a great help to the office and the taxpayers. It lets me discuss problems more knowledgeably than a young person just coming in." These reciprocal benefits are declared to be very great: "It's really good to work in an area where you feel it's pleasant for you and useful to other people. I'm living the ideal life now." Doing good to the community is also of prime importance. "The social usefulness of my work is most important. That's how I started my career, it's basic. Thirty-three years ago now I decided to dedicate myself to the co-operative movement." This positive summing up brings with it the realization of continuous learning. "I learned something everywhere and I've carried it with me." "Every part of my work has done something for me. I learned from every job, and it helps me in my present position." The good results are sometimes connected with mobility. "I've changed jobs several times, and it was always beneficial." Sometimes this satisfactory conclusion with regard to the person's contribution to work may be all-encompassing: "I'm happy about what I've done up till now." The person may verge on euphoria. "When I get a year older, I always celebrate it."

To carry out an active search for a promising exit (second phase), a person of 53-57 reacts energetically to the social pressures that would relegate him to the ranks of worn-out, obsolescent old people. He states quite categorically and convincingly that he possesses a whole set of exceptional characteristics. He is an infallible planner: "I don't have any ups and downs, because I always plan my work." "My production has always been perfect." He is efficient and scorns those who are not: "I enjoy working with competent people. When I work with imbeciles, I get terribly frustrated." He is confident: "I help out a lot of people here." He is demanding: "To me, an incompetent is not worth bothering about. I simply don't want to know about him or meet him." He is very forthright: "I'm determined and aggressive, and that gives me strength of character . . . strength to fight the things that have confronted me and to get through them." He is bold: "The older I get, the more I enjoy challenges. Because I have confidence in myself, I don't hesitate as much about charging in." He is proud: "I trust myself in the

things I do." He is determined: "Me, I adapt to young people, you have to use other people's ideas." He is sensible: "I adapt easily to a situation, even if I don't like it much." He is mature: "At my age, you have emotional stability but you've been at a certain level for a dozen years at least . . . I have confidence in myself." He is brave: "I'm a guy that likes to fight. I enjoy competition. If there's no competition, it's boring." He is experienced: "In my work, I feel I know what's going on. I have evidence . . ." He is unbeatable: "I always find a way of surmounting obstacles, I adapt easily even if I don't feel like it." He is very systematic: "I proceed methodically to solve all the problems that arise. I consider every problem carefully and don't panic." He is pragmatic: "It's helpful to be realistic." He has a good attendance record at work: "In thirty-eight years of work, I've taken two months of sick leave. That's a good record, isn't it?" His performance is impeccable: "I'm satisfied with my performance for my age . . . I can't complain about myself." "I put everything I've got into my work." He is honest: "I don't waste time, that's the way I am." He is firm: "I'm persevering about meeting objectives." He is competitive: "I love responsibilities and challenges." He is punctilious: "I'm a team worker, I'm reliable. Sometimes people say I keep too tight a hold on myself." He is strict: "I'm not all that ambitious, but it really matters to me that the objectives set for me are met with no hitch." He is decisive: "There are so many fields of action where you can grow, if I'm not happy about my job, I find something else. I act deliberately." He is positive: "I don't have a nostalgic temperament, I don't suffer from nerves. I'm not always a cock-eyed optimist, but when I see an uphill climb ahead of me, I just change gears so I can get up it." And he fights prejudice: "I always had to tell myself that I was a competent woman and what I was doing was extraordinary."

Finally, in his active search for a promising exit (third phase), a person of 53-57 takes pains to lay down several basic principles about the organization of work. Sometimes these principles are like a physical training program designed to keep him active at work. He convinces himself, for example, that he has to keep fighting: "You have to follow your convictions right through." "People here don't help us fulfil ourselves much. You need the will to win if you're going to make it." This struggle calls for perseverance. "You need continuity in your plan of action. You can't change careers too often." The struggle can only be carried out on certain conditions, however. "You need the right atmosphere at work. Otherwise it's better to move on. You have to." Transformations call for courage. "You have to be brave to

cope with changing situations." Economic permutations call for boldness. "In my hours of glory, there were an awful lot of disturbances. You can't succeed the way I've succeeded without running into trouble sooner or later. That's where I had to fight. There were ups and downs, it was like a thermometer and that's how it's going to go on." Going along with development is considered a necessity. "Today, there are changes all year long, and you have to live with that. There's no other way. You have to apply yourself and get in step with it." The basic principles for work organization are sometimes expressed in much more formal and general terms. A person of 53-57 identifies factors that make for success. These have to do first of all with the characteristics of the worker himself. "The better a person's own qualities, the better the quality of his work." Occupational effectiveness is seen as a function of motivation for self-actualization. "Whatever work you do, you can fulfil yourself and consider it important." Success is a function of planning ability. "People have to draw their own career path." Other work organization principles relate more to personnel management. A person of 53-57 feels that co-operation pays. "Involvement in decisions leads to commitment." "The ideal is to do your work as a team, so everyone has the right to approve things. It's better to discuss a thing before undertaking it." Job mobility is sometimes seen as necessary and sometimes as a bad thing. "Change is always good." "Personally I think that everyone over forty should really have someplace he can belong until the end of his career." Workers' performance could be improved in various ways, first by giving them more status. "Employees' jobs should be seen as more important." More recognition for outstanding work would be a good thing. "There's not enough emphasis on quality, and there's too much on quantity. Emphasis on quality could improve performance." It would pay to demand both quality and quantity. "Work had to be productive and useful. Performance is production, it's the quality of file analysis and the speed with which this is performed." Finally, an adult of 53-57 maintains emphatically that work organization can and must be reviewed. "Laws and administrative regulations have been made by men and women, and men and women can change them."

2.2.2.3 *Calm search for a promising exit*

Sometimes an adult of 53-57 seems to wish to savour his last remaining years on the job market in peace and quiet. He seems to look very calmly for a promising exit while doing his best to perform satisfactorily, but he cares little about making a last effort to outdo himself. He feels less of a need

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to confront new technological advances relating to his work and hence less of a need to struggle to keep his skills up to date. "My conception of life as a whole . . . it's funny. There's a time for making a big effort, a real effort to produce. There's a time of life when you can afford to take things more easily. It's not absolutely necessary to work till the age of sixty-five." A person of 53-57 sometimes declares that his occupational aspirations have grown more modest. "At present, I don't have strong ambitions about work. I think more about leisure." He has renounced the priorities he cared about in the past. "In the past five years, I've forgotten about less important things." He expects to feel a real need for a rest. "Maybe it's physical tiredness, but sooner or later, I have the impression I'm going to get tired of meeting challenges." The person makes an occupational investment coloured with calm and detachment. "I used to think that at fifty-five, you should roll up your sleeves and be very productive at work. But lately I've realized that you could take things easier." A person of 53-57 rejects the trouble of changing jobs. "I'll probably keep the same position until I retire because I don't want any other ones, even at a higher salary." He seems to value stability. "I wonder why I'd change. I'm fifty-six and I've always functioned like that." He refuses to make an extra effort to get a promotion. "Because of my age, I've refused to change my lifestyle. I turned down a promotion which would have meant moving to another town." "A few years ago, I would have been more willing to take another position, but now I've shut the door." Occupational mobility may have been very stimulating, but in earlier years. "I've changed jobs five or six times. Each time it was a new adventure, a new challenge, but for the past fourteen years I've been in the same job."

2.3 At 53-57, do people go from a state of questioning to a state of reorganization?

2.3.1 *Quantitative findings*

To answer this question, we must first refer to the critical decision threshold (6.68 degrees in Figure I) which distinguishes two groups in the scale of questioning. This threshold is explained in the findings for Figure II. We calculated the frequency with which individual curves cross the threshold below which is a state of questioning and above which is a state of reorganization.

Table II shows that in all, 88% of the adults say they have gone or expect to go from a state of questioning to a state of reorganization or vice versa. The percentage is distributed differently according to the number of curves on which a change is made. For example, 15% of the subjects go from

TABLE II

Subjects age 53-57 broken down according to whether or not they pass from one state to the other on their individual curves

Subjects	Yes						No
	Curve frequency (%)						
	1	2	3	4	5	Subtotal	
n = 101	21	25	21	15	6	88	10

one state to another on four curves. This is the case with the subject whose curves are shown in Figure I (curves a, d, e and f). In addition, 21%, 25% and 21% respectively pass from one state to another on one, two or three curves. This shows the frequency and intensity with which the subjects change states.

2.3.2 *Qualitative findings*

What adults of 53-57 say about the transition from a state of questioning to a state of reorganization and vice versa has to do with desperate or forward-looking searches for a promising exit. Their words also bring out the importance of other people's assessments and their economic and family concerns.

2.3.2.1 *Desperate search for a promising exit*

An adult of 53-57 is sometimes convinced that his departure from the job market will only be humiliating and degrading. He feels as if his present labours are ancient history. "All my business is in the past. There's nothing current in my work." He suffers from a lack of motivating objectives. "I don't find any more challenges. I've started being less productive because I'm leaving." He has doubts about the possibility of implementing his action plans. "I doubt that I can achieve my career objective because of my age." He fears what is coming. "I wonder what's going to happen to me in the future, I'm afraid." He doubts his capabilities: ". . . When I'm faced with a challenge, I feel more insecure." He even believes his skills or abilities are gradually decreasing. "I would hesitate to apply for another position because, in spite of my years of experience, I have the impression I've lost some of my skills."

The negative assessment applies mainly to the last stage of his career. The vocational castle crumbles just as the final stone is put in place. "You dream up an ideal life, you build

a future on it, you plan the end of your career. When the end comes, everything slips away under your feet, and you have to pick yourself up off the ground. There's no one left to help you. For the rest of the time people just put up with you." Sometimes, the assessment of the last days on the job market is disturbing. "The end of a career is a disaster. It's real misery, it's almost degrading, not at all the way I expected." This negative perception seems unreconcilable. "I'm a fatalist. What will happen tomorrow? I can't do anything about it. An improvement? I don't even care any more. From now till I retire, things are going to go on getting worse. It seems as if I don't give a damn. Even if things got better, I think I'd deny it." This defeatist view is sometimes expressed in more tolerant terms. "It's acceptance of my work, but it's going to go downhill until I retire. You have to learn to live with difficulties." "Opportunities are not what they were. You have fewer chances than twenty-five years ago." The possibility of making a promising exit seems more remote. "For me, at my age, I very much doubt I'll be able to play an important role in the organization in the coming years." Vocational development seems to be decreasing beyond hope. "I'm not interested in work. It would be the same anywhere at all, it wouldn't change much." "In my career, I'm less and less involved in decisions." An adult of 53-57 sometimes draws sad conclusions about his achievements but not necessarily about his human potential. "Right until the last day, I'll feel I could have done more." "So I would have liked to do other things. I haven't done what I wanted. I'm content with what I am, but perhaps I could have been someone else."

In addition, the environment does not always make it easy for an adult of 53-57 to look for a promising exit. His past contributions are not properly recognized: "Nearly a year before I left, they took everything away from me. I felt rejected, like an old sock . . . As if I'd never proved myself." The environment is stultifying at times. "What's the good of inventing something useful if I can't put it into practice in my work?" "It's hard to make suggestions, to get new techniques accepted." The environment is discriminatory: "I feel they're putting up with me until I leave." An adult of 53-57 sometimes seems to be a victim of humiliating or intimidating tactics. "I feel unwanted. To fill in time, they get me to do clerk's jobs, though I have professional qualifications." The employer gives him ridiculous tasks: "They make me do quite insignificant work just to say they aren't kicking me out, because the union is protecting me. I think it's disgusting." The work assigned to the person may even seem damaging to society. "The way my work is used may

hurt people. They could give me something positive to do instead of using my experience to screw people." Sometimes the search for a promising way out may be irrevocably compromised when the environment imposes a demotion. "It's hard on you to be demoted at my age. After thirty years on the job, it's humiliating." A demotion may even be dramatic. "I've always had promotions, since the time I came, but I've just been demoted. I've been relieved of some responsibilities. It hurts me. At my age, you don't want to become a nobody. Doing something like this is like chopping a guy's head off. It bothers me so much I can't sleep, and my stomach is upset."

2.3.2.2 *Forward-looking search for a promising exit*

An adult of 53-57 proceeds with this type of search by relegating the present to the back burner and focussing on his occupational future outside the job market. "There are thousands of things you can do after you retire. I can't wait." At the same time, he is aware that this fascination with the future may only be a mirage. "I think I'm like everybody else. The farther you are from retirement, the more you long for it." Motivation for work is based on forward-looking activities. "I can't wait to retire. That's why I go on working. After you've worked thirty-five years, it's not a punishment, it's a gift." This hope for retirement has other advantages. It helps people tolerate the many unpleasant features of their present life. "My work is meaningless, but I don't have to stay with it for long." This aspiration for retirement could be an opportunity for a complete personal renewal. "The minute I quit work, a new life is going to begin. I'll no longer be identified as employee X, I'll be a human being." This expectation for the future could help the person adjust his vocational aim appropriately. "When I retire, I'll have freedom of action. I'll do what I like. There'll be no more tension. I'll travel. I want to do genealogical research." Exploits will be experienced differently. "After I retire, I'll still face challenges, but they'll be much more personal." This forward-looking search for a promising exit also makes people of this age formulate action plans. "Retirement doesn't mean not working." Sometimes these plans are formulated in terms of intentions. "If my health is good enough, I'd like to retire to Africa." These desires sometimes correspond to greater concern about the social usefulness of a person's work. "I'd like to find a job where I could give for the sake of giving. I'd like to have that feeling of giving without expecting anything in return." "I'm not looking to an idle retirement. I want to help people more, in humanitarian or financial ways." Sometimes these plans involve very precise directions.

"When I stop working, I don't want to stay at home. I won't go and play cards when I'm a senior citizen. I want to take courses, I want to read, do everything I haven't had time to do." These prospects may be quite simple: "I love to work with wood." They may be very dynamic: "I have all sorts of plans. I want to open up a consultant's office." Sometimes, a person has already begun implementing his program to ensure promising vocational prospects: "I'm busy with a group home."

2.3.2.3 *Exaggerated importance of evaluation*

The evaluation of work, even though it applies only to current performance, takes on exaggerated importance. Other people's evaluations seem supremely significant. "I want to have a good image, a reassuring image, because I'm very concerned with what people think." The weight attached to evaluation is sometimes attributed to the passing years. "At my age, if I didn't feel I was really accepted, I wouldn't perform as well." An adult of 53-57 often interprets this evaluation as applying to the whole of his career, even if he realizes that his boss often knows very little about his work history. As a general rule, people of this age complain that their work is assessed unfairly: "Whether you do well or badly, nobody looks at you or appreciates you any more." The evaluation suffers from a notable absence of any indicators of how socially useful the person's work is. "All my work has social implications. I've always been convinced of that. But the trouble is that for years, nobody talked about it and I wasn't told." The possibility of getting appreciation is still a complex issue. "It's difficult to be regarded by our bosses the way we are, for they're prejudiced." Sometimes, a person of 53-57 observes that the superior who evaluates him is incompetent. "Often, the people who do our appraisals don't have as much education or experience." The corollary seems to be underuse of the person's potential. "We're physically capable of doing a little more, but we aren't asked to." "You have ideas about doing better but the bosses don't give you much chance." This underemployment sometimes shows when the chiefs consult people outside the organization, even though there is no need. "You're there, you know everything and the bosses go and see somebody else who doesn't know anything." An adult of 53-57 endows promotions with great potential for guaranteeing job satisfaction. "Promotions can give confidence and satisfaction." Consequently, not obtaining promotions has serious repercussions. "You lose your ambition because there's no chance of promotion." The same applies to the consequences of consistently poor appraisals. "I used to like taking up challenges, but more and more, I'm afraid of them. The bosses bother me more

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and more." An adult of 53-57 has doubts about the confidence placed in him. "I hope they accept me the way I am." "I still wonder. Do the people I work with and my bosses really have confidence in me?" Sometimes this doubt turns into an accusation: "My bosses and the people I work with could put more confidence in me."

The exaggerated importance of other people's assessment seems to stem from an overestimation of the boss. An adult of 53-57 refers to his boss almost as a superhuman creature. "I'm waiting for a decision from on high, from the Deputy Minister or the Minister." The director seems to be considered a vital necessity in terms of the work. "I didn't go to university or college, so I've always felt I needed a boss to guide my work." An adult of 53-57 feels obliged to maintain close relations with his supervisor. "My immediate boss is an important person at work. People go to him when they have problems when they need advice . . . but you have to work hand in hand." He considers his supervisor to have supremacy in his vocational life. "The immediate boss is the most important, after myself and my employees." This person has great influence as regards the possibility of finding a satisfactory job. "It's so complex here, it depends on the boss whether you can find a satisfactory job or not." The administrator is also a preponderant factor as regards the extent of involvement in decisions. "Involvement in decisions depends a lot on our boss and what responsibilities he gives us, how far he trusts us." This person determines whether or not major changes must be made. "When there's a new boss, a lot of things change: habits, trust, support. It's like starting from scratch every time you get a new boss." Finally, the supervisor plays a key role in plans about the work situation. "To me, the supervisor is very important . . . how he works with his employees. I've never had any problems and I don't expect to have any as long as he stays."

2.3.2.4 *Economic and family concerns*

These concerns are sometimes central to the search for a promising exit because they strongly affect the quality of future vocational development. "When you don't have to worry about survival any more for your retirement, that's what's essential. That's what I've always worried about." Leaving the job market is threatening mainly because of this. "With retirement, I feel quite comfortable provided we can live in comfort." "What concerns me is my income after I retire." An adult of 53-57 has doubly worrying financial insecurity when the problem is not confined to the future but is also a concern for the present. "My private company is going downhill." "I work without ever knowing what's going to happen. It's stressful . . . Last year was awful. In

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business, you can't predict anything." The lack of pension funds creates great pressure. "I'm a professional, but I don't have any guarantees for retirement. A workman protected by his union will live better than me." Financial questions compound the burden of work. An adult of 53-57 may feel chained to the job market. "I'll have to work until I'm sixty-five because I have and will have financial difficulties, even though my husband and I planned to retire at fifty-five." "What bothers me is having to work. Even if I like my work, I don't feel I have other options open to me." "I've worked for thirty years now. If my personal situation was good, I'd leave right away." Finally, an adult of 53-57 made a painful but very realistic observation: "I like money more than success. . ." He hopes that the wisdom of age will be a solution: "As I grow older, I'll convince myself that socio-economic benefits are less important."

Turning to family matters, we find that these roles and obligations leave an individual freer. "As regards my family, I'll be freer. After twenty-seven years of marriage, problems at home will be under control . . . The children have grown up, so maybe it will be easier to sort out priorities. There are fewer demands, but there still are some. The problems of starting a family have disappeared." Sometimes the couple's life changes: "There have never been just the two of us: the children came quite early, so now, we'll finally find out what it's like just to be a couple. I'd like to spend more time with my wife, and be her escort." The bachelor life is also affected. "I'm the oldest girl in the office, and I'm not married, as well. When people see me go by, they must say to one another, 'She doesn't have much left, if she loses her work.' "

2.4 Exceptional finalists

Some adults of 53-57 should be described as exceptional finalists in the search for a promising exit. These people, some fifteen per cent of the total, have much the same vocational experience as others of their age, but they differ from the others in several respects, which we shall describe.

First, they include a second dimension in their search. Exceptional finalists prepare for the ideal exit with a vague but firm concern about setting up a project for pursuing their vocational development outside the job market. This concern seems to stem from their recognition of the continuous or almost eternal nature of their intrinsic drive for development. Thus looking for a promising exit does not mean preparing, however gracefully, for their vocational death. The exceptional finalists do not only seek to make a beautiful end on the job market; they also investigate the

possibility of continuing beautifully on another planet in different ways. This search for a promising exit, with this other dimension, is accompanied by very broad questioning about vocational objectives, aimed at ensuring that these objectives are kept in view in the job market and when the time to retire comes.

These exceptional finalists also use internal or strictly personal criteria to look for a promising way out. They aim for an exit which satisfies themselves first and foremost; they are much less concerned about impressing other people or proving that they will be very difficult to replace. When they begin to sum up their contribution to the job market, they use internal or strictly personal criteria for the most part. There is thus a very clear distinction between other people's assessment and their self-assessment, even for a desperate search for a promising exit. Thus, even if other people evaluate them very harshly, exceptional finalists feel free to bring together all their positive elements so that they can concentrate on a plan to pursue their vocational development after retirement. "The minute I leave the office, a new life is going to start. I'll be a completely different person, a real human being. I won't be humiliated by my work any more."

In addition, exceptional finalists are more successful at finding a way through the dilemma that at this age they are supposed to have two alternatives, both entailing obvious social rewards and sanctions at the same time. These alternatives, as noted above, are to define oneself either as an efficient and productive employee or as a tired, worn-out employee. Since, however, these people put their purely personal criteria first, they are hardly affected by these sanctions and rewards from other people. They alter their own opinions of themselves very little and they proceed calmly and objectively to set themselves vocational objectives attuned to their personal situation first of all and only incidentally attuned to conflicting social demands.

3 Interpretation of results

3.1 Results regarding the theoretical framework

3.1.1 *Findings consistent with the model*

The results seem to corroborate some aspects of the basic model having to do with the nature of the process and the characteristics specific to the various periods of an adult's working life. People of 53-57 do seem to pursue their vocational development through periods of questioning followed or preceded by periods of reorganization. Moreover, we observed a feature specific to the vocational experience of adults of this age, namely that they are essentially looking for a promising exit.

3.1.2 *Findings divergent from the model*

Our results bring out two points that diverge from the model. First, an adult of 53-57 does not go through a period of reorganization as shown in the model. Instead, he goes through a period of questioning, mainly as regards the objectives of his development and the finite nature of his occupational and biological life. Futhermore, the first postulate of the basic model is that vocational development continues right up to death, in different forms but with the same intensity. However, this conception of qualitatively different development does not seem to be shared by some eighty-five per cent of adults age 53-57. In other words, these people seem to accept, more or less consciously or under compulsion, a conception of their development based directly on the "direct biological model of stages" (so named by Kohlberg, 1973, p 181). According to this model, an adult's vocational development progresses gradually upward to about the age of thirty-five, when it enters a maintenance pattern and everything is fairly stable, fixed, changeless and uneventful. From fifty-five onward, an adult declines down to retirement or death. The indicators that corroborate the acceptance of this conception by adults age 53-57 are as follows: (1) they do not evaluate their contribution in terms qualitatively different from those of previous years; (2) they evaluate their performance as quantitatively less than in the past; (3) they have few immediate occupational projects that show any effort to live intensely through the end of their career; (4) they identify the promising exit they seek with vocational death or ending; (5) they do not define their vocational identity in terms of a possible major transition they could make at retirement time.

The exceptional finalists (some fifteen per cent), however, seem not to adopt this vocational conception based on the direct biological model of stages. They also seem to correspond more closely to the basic model, for they seem to see themselves as on a development continuum. They see the period they are passing through as a unique whole with its own value, specific characteristics, intensity and assessment criteria. They look for a promising exit by summing up their work tentatively according to their own assessment criteria. Then, from this summing up, they plan their exit so that they can use it to renew and redesign their future vocational objectives.

Do those who adhere to the biological model of stages pay a price? Could it be the price of preparing to sound the knell for their vocational life instead of carrying on the search for a promising exit?

3.1.3 *Incomplete findings*

These findings relate mainly to the conditions which make it possible for vocational development to continue right up to death, in different forms but with the same intensity. To be more explicit about these conditions, the basic model which provided the theoretical framework for this study could be based on Denney's cognitive development postulates (1982, p 824). He maintains that a cognitive skill that is not exercised will reflect biological potential or follow the biological curve according to the advancement in age, ie. growth, maintenance and decline. Conversely, a skill that is exercised will follow a developmental curve different from the biological curve and much higher than it (in terms of performance). If these postulates are applied to the occupational field, the basic model could show the maximum vocational development curve differing from the biological curve to the extent that the basic skills and attitudes are constantly and adequately exercised.

It would also be well to suggest a complementary feature in the basic model which could serve to identify a condition for continuous or planned development up to death, not stopping short at retirement. This feature could be taken from Jung's observations about biological death. According to Jung (cited by Crain, 1980, p 195), a person cannot have a healthy perception of death unless he has an image of what happens after death, and this image is controlled by the subconscious, which has eternal archetypes that demand to be heeded. If we transpose this to leaving the job market (which some people identify with vocational death or ending), we could formulate the following condition for continuing vocational development after retirement. The search for a promising exit from work will go well to the extent that the individual holds an image of the pursuit of his vocational life beyond the exit. The search will only be positive in so far as the individual respects the eternal vocational archetypes put forward by his subconscious.

3.2 Practical implications

Our findings with regard to adults of 53-57 suggest several messages. The most important is that it is essential to respect an adult of 53-57 in his search for a promising exit, for this search will enable him, after a preliminary summing up, to readjust his tendencies so as to bring out his positive characteristics and compensate for his weaknesses. Most important, this search will enable him to pursue his vocational path, for it is an opportunity to redefine his occupational objectives. An adult of 53-57 must be helped with his sometimes very anguished reflections on the finite nature of life

and the presence of death. He must also be made aware that vocational development must be planned right up to death and that he must not sound his own vocational knell. This holds true in the various fields of application.

Vocational guidance, for example, must not, of course, be considered in comprehensive terms of choosing a second or third career; rather it should be conceived in terms of help with determining vocational goals. These goals should be general enough to embrace all the occupational activities carried out both in and outside the job market. *Job counselling* should seek to guide the adult in selecting an occupation that would put him on the road to a planned change of vocational activities at retirement. *Personnel management* should make better use of adults age 53-57, because they are very capable of offering a comprehensive view of the job market, well grounded in experience, that could be most enlightening. In addition, personnel management should have an awareness of the responsibility it should shoulder to prevent such a person from becoming a worn-out, obsolescent worker. The importance attached to other people's assessment and to the boss offers plenty of room to manoeuvre so that a person of this age can be an efficient and very productive worker. *Unions* should negotiate conditions that favour adults of this age: for example, altering or lightening of workloads and gradual mobility (such as one day a week away from the regular job) could be guaranteed. Such provisions would make it easier to plan a less abrupt and more positive transition to retirement. *Business organizers and community workers* should be more concerned about the aspirations of people age 53-57 so that their motivation and performance will not fall off and be difficult to re-establish. Guidance and job counselling *testing* should be completely revamped for people of this age. What needs to be identified is not their occupational interests and skills but rather new forms of vocational development.

4 Conclusion

The results of this study give reason to believe that the vocational development of adults age 53-57 is essentially characterized by questioning about the goals of their personal and vocational life. After standing at the meeting place of youth and wisdom, the adult of 53-57 suddenly seems to be looking for a promising way out of the job market. Even though there is no longer any mandatory retirement age, he seems to consider that he is living through the last stage before the countdown to his departure. He feels suddenly face to face with the inexorability of this departure, even though it will probably not take place for another ten years. This situation

fills him with very anxious thoughts about death, the finite nature of life in general and the finite nature of his own life in particular. He can barely suppress his anger when he speaks of his immediate future. He asks himself these questions: "How can I leave planet Jobmarket gracefully? How can I emphasize my specific contribution? How can I make people realize I will be very difficult, if not impossible, to replace?" In this search for a promising exit, people may be (i) desperate (for leaving the job market is degrading and humiliating to them), (ii) extroverted (waiting in vain for other people to reward their efforts), (iii) calm (savouring the last years of their working life), (iv) active (boasting categorically and sometimes arrogantly that they have been excellent contributors) or (v) privileged (training a team to carry on their work in later years). Other people's assessment, even though it can only be valid for current performance, still takes on exaggerated importance. An adult of 53-57 very often interprets this assessment as applying to the whole of his career.

In addition, our findings corroborate some parts of the development model entitled "a staircase model". First, adults of 53-57 seem to pursue their vocational development by passing through periods of questioning followed or preceded by periods of reorganization. Next, there are features specific to the vocational experience of this age. Our results also pointed to features that diverge from the model. The period 53-57 proves to be a time of questioning about the goals of vocational development, although the model postulated a period of reorganization at this age. Another point where our findings differed from the basic model is that only fifteen per cent of the subjects age 53-57 have a conception of development with qualitative differences throughout the adult period. Conversely, eighty-five per cent have a conception of their development based directly on the biological model of stages, according to which the vocational development curve is similar to the biological curve. These differences with regard to the conception of vocational development make the author emphasize the risks of following the biological model of stages shared by most people age 53-57.

The main drift of the practical implications is that it is essential to assist the adult of 53-57 in his search for a promising exit. It is also essential to assist him with his sometimes anguishing questions about the finite nature of life and the presence of death. Finally, he must be brought to realize that development must be planned right up to death and he must avoid planning his own vocational knell.

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Psychometric and Situational Vocational Assessment at the Royal Ottawa Regional Rehabilitation Centre

Robert J. Flynn
David R. Vincent
Louyse Toulouse
Theresa M. McFarland
Department of Psychology
and Vocational Evaluation Unit
Royal Ottawa Regional Rehabilitation Centre

Introduction

We appreciate Mr. Stuart Conger's invitation to present what is apparently the first paper at these annual consultations to address the vocational needs of disabled persons. We believe that a discussion of these needs is very timely, given that the Special House of Commons Committee on the Disabled and Handicapped observed in its recent publication, *Obstacles*: *Progress Report* (June 1982), that "employment is the most urgent need of disabled persons in Canada" (p. 41).

In the present paper, after a brief overview of the difficult employment situation facing disabled people in Canada today, we discuss two major topics:

1. The prescriptive model of psychometric and situational vocational assessment of disabled persons used at the Royal Ottawa Regional Rehabilitation Centre (RORRC); and,
2. An illustration of the model in operation by means of a detailed case history of a client who recently completed the assessment process at RORRC.

Before going further, however, it may be helpful to include a brief description of RORRC itself. Clinically, the Centre is one of three divisions of the Royal Ottawa Hospital (ROH), forming ROH's Department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation. Academically, RORRC serves as the Department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation of the University of Ottawa School of Medicine. The Centre provides training for students in medicine, nursing, psychology, social work, physiotherapy, occupational therapy, speech therapy, and recreation and leisure services from several universities and colleges in Ottawa and elsewhere.

RORRC serves 77 in-patients and some 3,000 outpatients with physical disabilities from Eastern Ontario and Western Quebec. Separate clinical programs, operated on a multi-disciplinary team model, have been established for a wide range of disabling conditions, and include Stroke, Amputee, Spinal Cord, Neurolocomotor, Adolescent, Respiratory, Communication Disorders, Day Hospital, Cardiac, and Out-patient programs. The Vocational Evaluation Unit, unlike other RORRC departments and programs, has a mandate to serve psychiatrically impaired clients as well as persons with physical disabilities.

The Centre has a staff of approximately 300, and moved to its present new building in April, 1981, on the Health Sciences campus of the University of Ottawa. Besides its clinical and research functions, the Centre also has an educational and consultation mission vis-à-vis community health and rehabilitation agencies in its service region.

Employment Needs of Disabled Canadians

In its recent report, *Labour Market Development in the 1980s*, prepared for the federal Minister of Employment and Immigration, the Task Force on Labour Market Development (1981) reviewed trends likely to affect Canadian labour markets in the 1980s and examined the implications of these trends for the direction of federal government policies and programs. As part of its mandate, the Task Force examined the employment position of disabled workers, relying to a significant extent on the prior findings of the Special House of Commons Committee on the Disabled and Handicapped (*Obstacles* report, 1981). The Task Force (1981, pp. 98-100) made the following observations of direct relevance to the present paper:

- In Canada, 1,345,000 persons of working age have physically or mentally disabling conditions. Of this group, approximately 1,035,000 are partially disabled and able to perform a major activity. An estimated 50% of such individuals are employable; however, unemployment rates currently run as high as 85%.
- Of all special needs groups in Canada (women, Native peoples, disabled persons, youths, and older workers), disabled persons face the greatest range of employment problems. Such problems include unfavorable social perceptions of their ability to work; systemic barriers in the form of unnecessary physical barriers and failure to make accommodations in the workplace to compensate for disability; limitations in education, training, and aspirations; and limitations in the ability to perform certain types of work, although many of these limitations can be overcome by the use of technical aids and accommodations.

- Although comprehensive data on disabled persons will not be available at least until the 1986 census, information supplied by national voluntary organizations to the Special House of Commons Committee on the Disabled and Handicapped strongly suggests that disabled people are severely unemployed, underemployed, or employed in low-income jobs.
- Large numbers of disabled persons would be fully able to enter the labour force if social perceptions of their ability to work were to improve and reasonable accommodations were to be made in the workplace, often at minimal expense to employers.
- Policies and programs that provide access to jobs are the key to solving many of the other social and economic problems faced by disabled persons and should be implemented with all possible speed.

In general, the Task Force's (1981) analysis of the employment situation of disabled persons is congruent with earlier studies, both in Canada (Brown, 1977) and the United States (Levitan & Taggart, 1977).

The Prescriptive Model of Vocational Assessment of Disabled Persons used at the Royal Ottawa Regional Rehabilitation Centre

In rehabilitation, as in vocational psychology more generally, the would-be assessor is faced with a rather bewildering range of possible models to use--e.g., Holland's (1973) typology of work personalities and environments; Super's (1957, 1974) developmental perspective, with its focus on vocational maturity; Gellman's (1953) situational model, developed at the Chicago Jewish Vocational Service during the 1950s and 1960s; the Minnesota Theory of Work Adjustment (Dawis, 1976), with its emphasis on worker-environment correspondence; Hershenson's (1981) developmental model of vocational adjustment; McMahon's (1979) model of vocational redevelopment for workers disabled in mid-career; etc. Fortunately, as Bolton (1982, pp. 7-8) has observed, models such as these share several key assumptions, assumptions which guide our assessment efforts at RORRC:

1. The work personality (motivation, abilities, habits, attitudes, values) is central to successful vocational adjustment.
2. It is essential to prepare the worker for the demands of the work environment; and
3. It is critical to conduct an in-depth assessment of the individual's work personality as a basis for service planning and eventual job placement.

Purpose of Prescriptive Vocational Assessment at RORRC

As described by Leland and Rice (1982), the objective of a prescriptive vocational assessment is to identify client rehabilitation problems and, especially, to provide the vocational counsellor with a "prescription" (in the form of data-based recommendations) for services that will reduce or eliminate the handicapping aspects of the client's rehabilitation problems. The prescriptive approach thus rests on specification of both client needs and feasible solutions couched in terms of both short-term and long-term service goals.

At RORRC, clients referred for vocational assessment frequently (although not always) undergo two sequential, complementary phases of assessment: first, psychometric evaluation, conducted by staff of the Centre's Psychology Department, and second, situational evaluation, carried out by staff of the Centre's Vocational Evaluation Unit. Figure 1 provides an overview of the two-phase model employed. We discuss each type of assessment in turn.

Psychometric Assessment (Psychology Department)

Holland's Typological Theory of Vocational Choice

In the Psychology Department, we use John Holland's (1973) theory of vocational decision-making as our guiding framework because it has become the dominant theoretical framework in vocational psychology at the present time, has been reasonably well validated by past research, continues to generate a large number of empirical studies each year, and can assimilate and interpret developmental concepts within its typological-differentialist perspective (see Holland and Gottfredson, 1978, especially pp. 151-161).

Holland's theory can be stated in the form of seven basic assumptions (Holland, 1979a) which, for reasons of space, we present here without elaboration:

1. Most people can be categorized as one of six personality types: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, or conventional.
2. There are also six types of work environments: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional.
3. People search for environments that will let them exercise their skills and abilities, express their attitudes and values, and take on agreeable problems and roles.
4. A person's behaviour (e.g., vocational choice, job changes, work competence, satisfaction, and achievements) is determined by the interaction between his/her personality and characteristics of the work environment.

5. The degree of congruence between a person and an occupation (environment) can be estimated by means of a hexagonal model (Figure 2). The shorter the distance between the personality type and the occupational type, the more congruent the relationship and, thus, in principle, the better the person's vocational outcomes will be.
6. The greater the degree of consistency (as defined by the hexagon) *within* the person or occupation, the more stable will be the person's work history and the greater will be his/her job achievements.
7. The more differentiated (i.e., better defined) a person and/or occupational environment is, the more predictable will be the vocational outcomes predicted from the person's work personality profile, from an occupational code, or from their interactions.

FIGURE 1
Overview of Prescriptive Model of Vocational Assessment Used at RORRC

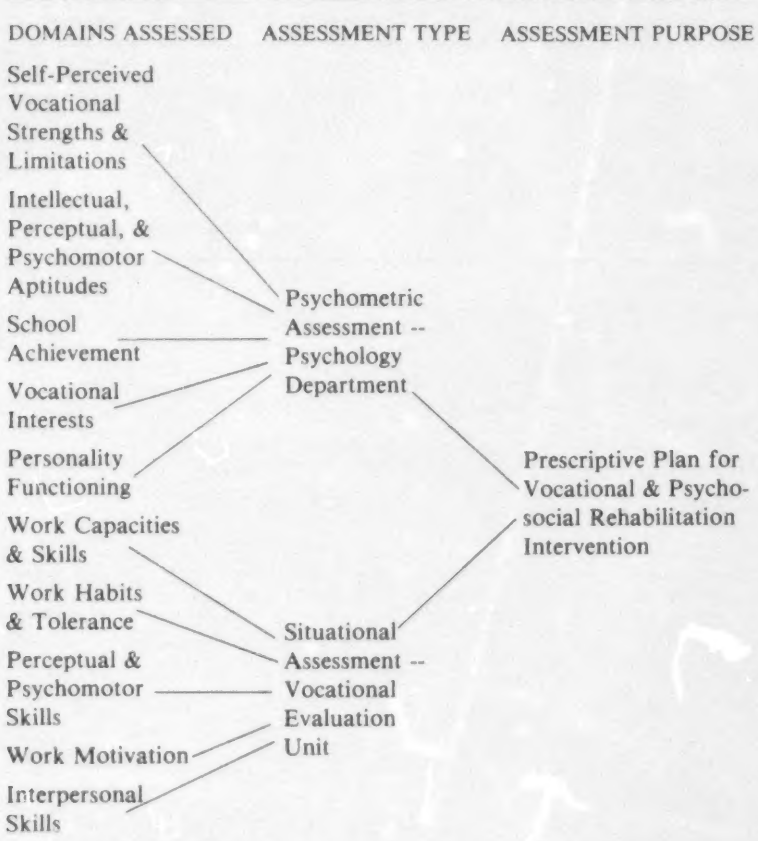
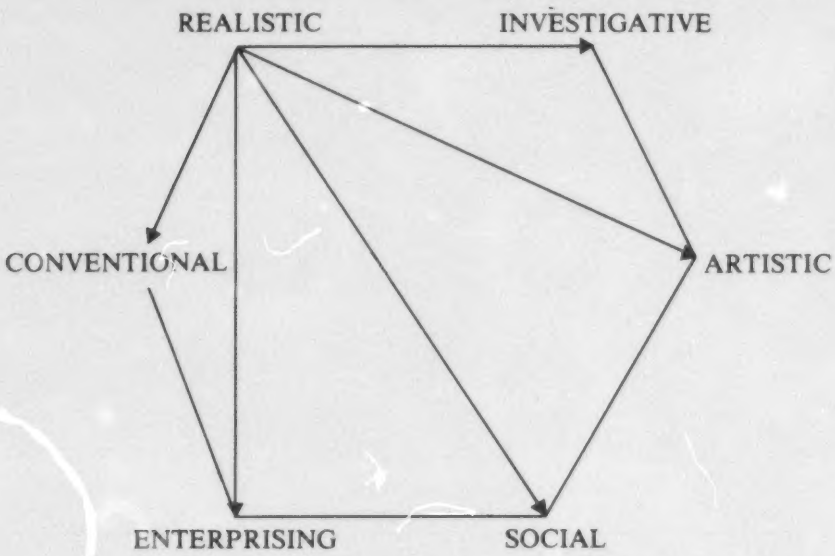


FIGURE 2
Using the Hexagonal Model to Assess Congruence and Consistency in Person-Environment Relationships (from Holland, 1979, p. 5).



(*Note*: R-Person in an R-environment: *congruence* = 4 [high]; in a C- or an I-environment: congruence = 3; in an E- or an A-environment: congruence = 2; and in an S-environment: congruence = 1 [low]. If the same person's personality profile were RI or RC, *consistency* = 3 [high]; if RA or RE, consistency = 2; if RS, consistency = 1 [low].)

Overall, we find Holland's parsimonious typology to be very useful in helping to organize the extensive data we acquire about clients and about their past and potential future work environments. We believe it is preferable to conceptualize disabled persons' vocational development in terms of a well supported general theory rather than (as happens too frequently in rehabilitation) in terms of a disability-oriented mini-theory.

Some of the assessment tools used in our psychometric evaluations are directly derived from Holland's work, such as *My Vocational Situation* (Holland, Daiger, & Power, 1980) and the *Self-Directed Search* (Holland, 1979a), while the others are interpretable in terms of his model. We also use assessment instruments specifically designed for disabled clients, such as the *Personal Capacities Questionnaire* (Crewe & Athelstan, Note 1) and the *Millon Behavioral Health Inventory* (Millon, Green, and Meagher, 1982), although these, too, are interpretable in terms of Holland's framework. Finally, we should add that clients also appear

to find the typology useful, in that it helps them relate the knowledge gained about themselves, both from their life experience and from our vocational assessment, to the wide variety of educational opportunities, training programs, and potential jobs from among which they must choose.

Domains Assessed and Psychological Tests Used

As Figure 1 indicates, psychometric testing is conducted in five major domains: the client's self-perception of his/her vocationally-related strengths and limitations; abilities and aptitudes; school achievement; vocational interests; and personality functioning. In addition, background information and work history data are elicited by means of a standardized booklet. We have also constructed a standardized interview schedule which, beginning in January, 1983, we shall use to conduct one-year follow-up interviews with clients by telephone. (The psychometric model being described was implemented only in January, 1982, and thus the one-year follow-ups are only now getting underway).

In the interests of thoroughness, we now discuss the psychometric instruments used to assess each of the five domains mentioned earlier. In presenting our standardized battery of instruments, however, we should note that our purpose in conducting assessments is both clinical and research-related. That is, some of the instruments in the battery are still new and experimental, or else have not been widely used with disabled persons. Instruments of both types require additional validation on disabled clients before they can be confidently recommended for widespread use in rehabilitation settings. The tools on which we are conducting research include *My Vocational Situation*, the *Personal Capacities Questionnaire*, the *Self-Directed Search*, the *Canadian Occupational Interest Inventory*, and the *Millon Behavioral Health Inventory*. If our assessment objectives were only clinical in nature, we would use a smaller set of "core" instruments whose reliability and validity with disabled clients had already been well established.

Self-Perceived Vocational Strengths and Limitations

My Vocational Situation (MVS). The MVS (Holland, Daiger, & Power, 1980) is an experimental diagnostic test intended to help the vocational counsellor select the most effective treatment for a given client. The instrument (an earlier version of which is described in Holland, Gottfredson, and Power, 1980) is based on the assumption that the majority of difficulties in career decision-making fall into one or more of the following categories: (a) problems of vocational identity, (b) lack of information about jobs or training, and (c) environmental or personal barriers.

Holland and his colleagues assume, quite reasonably, that relatively untroubled decision-making is enhanced by possession of a strong vocational identity (i.e., a clear and stable picture of one's own goals, interests, and talents), accurate information about the labour market, and few career barriers. They also predict that the three scales of the MVS (Identity, Information and Barriers) will have a number of applications in career development and personality research (Holland, Gottfredson, & Power, 1980): examining the relation of vocational identity to other well-validated personality variables; studying the links between identity and career stability; and increasing the relationship between vocational and personality psychology. These are among the questions that we are attempting to address in our own research on the MVS.

Personal Capacities Questionnaire (PCQ). The PCQ (Crewe & Athelstan, Note 1) is a recently developed instrument for functional assessment that permits the disabled client to rate his/her own capacity for work or other productive activities. Normative data on the PCQ are still being gathered and are not yet available (Athelstan, Note 2). We hope that the local norms we are gathering on the instrument will prove useful to other PCQ users in rehabilitation settings.

The PCQ consists of two main parts: on part I (vocational limitations), the client rates him/herself on 30 different functional items of a physical or behavioural nature (e.g., vision, hearing, learning ability, etc.). On each item, scores may range from "O" (no self-perceived limitation) to "3" (great limitations). On part II (vocational strengths), the client uses a 10-item checklist to indicate the special strengths that he/she perceives him/herself as having (e.g., unusual intelligence, very pleasing personality, etc.). Finally, on two global items the client rates him/herself on overall level of disability and chances of getting and holding a job.

We must await the gathering of follow-up data to determine the predictive validity of the PCQ. In the interim, however, the instrument does appear to yield clinically useful data that is not duplicated by any other test in our battery.

Abilities and Aptitudes

Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale--Revised (WAIS-R). The WAIS-R (Wechsler, 1981) is the 1981 revision of the Wechsler scale (WAIS) that, since its original publication in 1955, has become the standard measure of general, global intelligence in adults. Scores on the WAIS-R are useful in predicting whether a particular job or training program is likely to be within a given client's reach, although the impor-

tance of motivational variables for success in a training program or job must not be forgotten.

General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB). The GATB (Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, 1979) consists of nine aptitude factors (intellectual, perceptual, and psychomotor) which were standardized on a sample of 4,000 people who were representative of the 1940 working population of the U.S.A. in terms of age, sex, education, occupation, and geographical region. The GATB is widely used by the public employment services of the U.S. and Canada and has been the subject of an enormous amount of empirical research. It is intended to be used in conjunction with volume 2 (*Occupational Qualification Requirements*) of the *Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations* (Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1971) to determine whether a client's aptitude profile matches the demands of an occupation which he/she is considering as a possible choice.

School Achievement

The Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT; Jastak & Jastak, 1978) is used to assess proficiency in the basic school subjects of reading word recognition and pronunciation, written spelling, and arithmetic computation. These skills are relevant to a wide range of jobs as well as in certain vocational training and upgrading programs.

Vocational Interests

Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory (SCII). The SCII (Campbell, 1974) is the contemporary version of the older and much-researched *Strong Vocational Interest Blank*. The SCII is cast into Holland's theoretical framework of vocational choice and consists of six General Occupational Themes (realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, conventional), 23 Basic Interest scales (reflecting interests in or aversions to 23 specific areas such as art, science, public speaking, etc.), and 124 highly specific Occupational scales (indicating the similarity of the testee's interests with the characteristic interests of men and women in the particular occupations in question). We give the client a copy of the SCII computerized printout to keep so that he/she will be able to consult the results on many occasions during the process of choosing a suitable occupation. The SCII also anchors our research on the *Self-Directed Search* and on the *Canadian Occupational Interest Inventory*.

Interest Inventory

Beginning in March, 1983, we shall use the *Career Assessment Inventory* (Johansson, 1976) as an alternative to the SCII for many clients. The CAI was developed specifically for persons seeking immediate career entry and for indi-

viduals interested in careers requiring some (rather than advanced) post-secondary education.

Self-Directed Search (SDS). Holland (1979a) developed the SDS as a practical simulation of the vocational counselling experience. The SDS is a self-administered, self-scored, and self-interpreted vocational counselling tool. We use the Canadian edition (Holland, 1979b) which, like its U.S. counterpart, consists of two booklets: an assessment booklet and an occupational classification booklet. To use the SDS, the client fills out the assessment booklet and obtains a three-letter occupational code. This code is then used to locate suitable occupations in the occupational classification booklet, the Occupations Finder.

Holland (1979a) notes that experimental studies have shown that the SDS increases the client's self-understanding, number of vocational alternatives, satisfaction with current vocational aspiration, and knowledge of the six-fold RIASEC typology. Interestingly, he also notes that three experimental studies (Avallone, 1974; Krivatsy & Magoon, 1976; Nolan, 1974) have found that the beneficial effects of the SDS equal those of professional counsellors (Holland, 1979a, p. 1). As with the SCII, we give a copy of the completed SDS to the client to consult at his/her leisure, as an aid in the decision-making process.

Canadian Occupational Interest Inventory (COII). The COII (Booth, Bégin, & Lavallée, 1982), last revised in 1981, was developed by Employment and Immigration Canada and is used widely in this country. It is intended for use with volume 2 of the *Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations* (Department of Manpower Immigration, 1971) and, like the CCDO, employs a set of five bipolar factors for describing occupational interests: Things vs. People; Business Contact vs. Scientific; Routine vs. Creative; Social vs. Solitary; and Prestige vs. Production. To date, little research on disabled persons appears to have been conducted with the COII. We are currently carrying out a concurrent validity study on the instrument and will conduct predictive validity studies as our data on outcomes accumulate.

Personality Functioning

Clinical Analysis Questionnaire (CAQ). Developed over the last decade by Raymond Cattell and his colleagues at the Institute for Personality and Ability Testing at the University of Illinois, the CAQ (Krug, 1980) is a 272-item inventory that assesses both normal and pathological personality trait levels. The CAQ measures 28 primary traits (16 normal and 12 pathological) which can be combined in specific ways to calculate a total of nine second-order factors. The 16 normal traits are those from Cattell's well-known 16 PF and have

numerous vocational implications. The 12 pathological traits include seven measures of depression and five others (paranoia, psychopathic deviation, schizophrenia, psychasthenia, and psychological inadequacy) which were originally identified by factor analysis of the item pool of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). We find the CAQ useful as a broadband personality assessment tool because we serve clients with physical and emotional problems and, not infrequently, both.

Millon Behavioral Health Inventory (MBHI). Recently developed by Theodore Millon and his colleagues at the University of Miami, the MBHI (Millon, Green, and Meagher, 1982) is apparently the first instrument developed specifically for the psychological assessment of physically ill and/or disabled persons in medical settings. The MBHI consists of four parts: eight scales measuring basic personality coping styles; six psychogenic attitude scales assessing psychological stressors that research implicates as significant precipitators or exacerbators of physical illness; three psychosomatic attitude scales that measure the extent to which emotional factors complicate allergic, gastrointestinal, or cardiovascular illnesses; and three prognostic indication scales that predict psychological complications associated with a number of diseases. Because of the newness of the MBHI, we are using it clinically on an experimental basis and are currently conducting research on its construct and predictive validity.

With the forgoing overview of our psychometric assessment model in mind, we turn now to the situational assessment approach which complements and extends it. The situational model is used in the Vocational Evaluation Unit, with which Psychology Department staff work closely, and vice versa.

Situational Assessment (Vocational Evaluation Unit)

The Vocational Evaluation Unit (VEU) at RORRC has a mandate to provide work assessment and work adjustment services to physically and psychiatrically disabled adults. Situational assessment constitutes the primary approach to the VEU's evaluation of work potential. Pruitt (Note 3) broadly defines situational assessment as a systematic procedure for observing, recording and interpreting work behaviour. In this broad sense, the term can be applied to the three major modalities of assessment in the VEU--work samples, job stations, and transitional work activity.

The decision to use situational techniques was, in part, determined by the generally acknowledged limitations of

traditional psychometric testing for disabled clients. Clients whose vocational development has been impaired by physical or psychiatric disability, social deprivation, reading deficits, and so forth, do not always benefit from testing techniques which do not accommodate their special needs. The techniques of situational assessment, however, are not limited to the disabled. This is evident by its general acceptance in many public school systems.

Much of the enthusiasm characteristic of the advocates of this approach is based on the assumption that the most effective method of evaluating work potential involves an actual job "try-out" or a mock-up of work activity resembling a real job task. Consequently, situational assessments are often considered to have at least greater face validity than psychometric evaluation and, perhaps, greater predictive validity as well. Further, this technique offers an exploration of a greater number of work dimensions, which permits more comprehensive diagnostic and prognostic information to be gathered and more effective rehabilitation planning.

The VEU's modalities of situational assessment include work samples (combined with some psychometric testing in the VEU), work activity in a transitionally-oriented workshop, and job try-outs, both at RORRC and in the community. A multimodal approach is used since it offers a more comprehensive evaluation of work potential than is possible with a more limited, unimodal orientation.

The VEU is concerned with the following objectives described by Hardy and Cull (1973):

1. A determination of the client's current level of skill, work habits, physical capacities, interests and abilities, through a system of work sample testing in major occupational areas.
2. An assessment of the client's attitude, motivation and vocational goals, through a specified period of time observing his performance in an actual work situation.
3. An appraisal of the client's interpersonal relationships with peers and supervisors. And,
4. A means of helping the client develop proper work habits, work tolerance, and work confidence in a simulated work environment.

Work Samples

Generally, the VEU client begins his/her assessment with a two-week, in-unit evaluation, much of which involves the use of work samples (see Botterbusch, 1982, for a good overview). The work samples are particularly effective in identifying specific skills and aptitudes related to employment. Examples of behavioural domains where work samples can provide an effective assessment include dexterity, use of

hand tools, comprehension of instructions, physical tolerance, spatial and size discrimination, co-ordination, neatness of work, and organizational ability. Simultaneously, the client explores his/her interest areas through a relevant, "hands-on" task. Based on experience in the VEU, clients appear less threatened by work samples than by other types of testing, possibly because the strong reality orientation of this approach has an influence on its perceived relevancy. Work samples also remove some of the barriers imposed by traditional assessment in that they are not predominantly verbal. (Academic achievement is not a prerequisite for satisfactory performance and there is no minimum general intellectual level as measured through traditional techniques, although "work intelligence" is assessed.) For the physically disabled, work samples provide an opportunity to effectively evaluate the functional limitations imposed by the handicap. Therefore, the need for adaptive devices or restructuring of the work environment can also be specifically addressed.

Job Stations

Following completion of the work sample assessment, many VEU clients will participate in a job station evaluation. This phase represents some of the more recent innovations in situational assessment. Clients are placed directly into actual work situations and their performance is appraised by the work supervisor as the participant functions within the total milieu with other regular employees. A staff member of the VEU meets regularly with the supervisor to complete a standardized evaluation form. For these purposes, the client is appraised as if he/she were actually starting the job. Past experiences have demonstrated that it is necessary to clarify to both the supervisor and the client the objectives and expectations of this phase to ensure an effective evaluation.

The strength of the job stations approach lies in its ability to create an opportunity to observe the client within the total work environment and assess his/her ability to cope with a number of typical demands. Work samples, on the other hand, offer a more narrow, but more precise, measure of the client's specific skills or traits. These are not always attainable in work stations because of the greater subjectivity of the observer and less rigorous behavioural techniques and tools. Work samples, however, miss some of the psychological factors inherent in actual work. Many of these factors are considered under the term "work personality", which Gellman (Note 4) defines as the characteristic pattern of work activity displayed by a person in a work situation. This notion incorporates work attitudes, behavioural work patterns, value systems, incentives and abilities. It is a behavioural configuration which is directly related to employ-

ability. The job station evaluation attempts to answer the following questions: How does the client relate to supervision and what types of supervision are most effective? Does he/she relate appropriately to other workers? Is there conformity to the customary work roles? Does the quality and productivity of work fall within acceptable limits? Is he/she punctual and is a satisfactory attendance record maintained? Is reliability and dependability a problem? What are the frustration tolerances and how does the client respond to pressure? What problem-solving strategies are employed: trial and error, task analysis, asking questions, etc.? Is he/she distracted easily? Is the pace of work even or erratic? and so on.

The work station also provides the client with the opportunity to assess his/her own interests in a reality-oriented milieu. Since a disability frequently imposes restrictions on the process of vocational development, clients are often at a disadvantage in making career decisions which require some personal knowledge of skills and employment expectations. Thus, the job station phase of the VEU offers an effective tool to facilitate an awareness of and a reconciliation between the external realities of employment and the internal needs and desires of the individual.

Transitional Work Activity

Clinical experience in the VEU has demonstrated that the job station component just discussed is not always desirable as a second phase immediately following the initial two-week, in-unit evaluation. If significant client deficits become apparent during the early assessment stage, then the job station may impose unrealistic expectations which will lead to feelings of frustration and inadequacy on the part of the client. Job stations are a very close approximation to regular competitive employment. This can be either a strength or a weakness, depending on the client's level of vocational development. Since the job try-out is removed from the immediate environment of the VEU, many therapeutic supports are absent and the work activity cannot be structured systematically.

Those clients who require gradual exposure to work are thus, in most cases, referred to the in-unit transitional work activity component known as the Extended Work Adjustment Training program (EWAT). This section provides further assessment or else attempts to modify work behaviour by improving physical tolerance, work habits, or work skills. When significant barriers are believed to exist regarding work habits, attitudes or tolerance, the client is placed in the EWAT program to establish objectively the extent of the work liability. Targeted behaviours are monitored closely to

establish baseline figures. These figures, in turn, are compared with appropriate employment standards which correspond to the client's goal. When discrepancies are found between the present level of functioning and the level needed, an individualized program is implemented to improve employability and to allow the client to proceed eventually to job stations.

EWAT utilizes actual work for its assessment and adjustment services and simulates, to the extent possible, a work environment. Because it is located in the VEU and supervised by clinical staff, the milieu tends to be highly supportive. Furthermore, the advantage exists of being able to observe the client's behaviour closely and to establish a structured, individualized program with built-in reinforcement contingencies for adjustment strategies.

The Counsellor's Role

All clients of the unit are assigned to a rehabilitation counsellor for the purpose of vocational planning, coordination, and counselling. The VEU offers a unique opportunity to integrate the counselling component with situational assessment, with each activity supporting and reinforcing the other. Counselling is more constructive because the practical aspects of the program provide a vehicle to obtain information, validate hypotheses, set objectives, and monitor progress. The counsellor, who works very closely with all phases of the VEU, is, therefore, in a position to provide the client with reliable and constructive feedback. Through this dynamic process, the client is able to understand his/her program and becomes the primary member of the rehabilitation team, accepting responsibility for decisions in his/her life.

Because the vocational rehabilitation process is developmental in nature, the VEU must satisfy a continuum of individual needs for each participant. Whether the client suffers from a congenital disability and has limited work experience, or is an older person forced from employment by the traumatic onset of disability, he/she presents a unique set of requirements which can only be met by a program with a comprehensive scope. The multimodal approach to situational assessment, combined with a counselling component, offers a variety of strategies for vocational development. Experience has established that too narrow a focus, e.g., job stations only, or the exclusive use of work samples, can provide the counsellor and client with a fallacious impression of job readiness, which leads to unrealistic recommendations. In this situation, the problem does not appear to be the validity of those performances evaluated during the assessment, but rather the critical behaviours which have been missed by the assessment.

In addition, a comprehensive prescriptive vocational assessment must be able to provide relevant recommendations for the vocational development and disability management of the client. Apart from identifying vocational readiness, VEU recommendations specify the need for further diagnostic and medical evaluation, physical or mental restoration services, or training and retraining. The benefit of support services, such as family intervention, socialization programs, transportation, accommodation, and so forth, are also reflected in the recommendations. If employment is recommended, the referring person or agency should understand the nature of the employment with respect to skills, physical demands, and type of socio-psychological milieu which would facilitate the employability of the client.

The assessment of the disabled person requires a well-trained evaluator who is familiar with contemporary approaches in the field. Currently, there are many new sophisticated tools and methods to choose from (see Botterbusch, 1982), all with inherent strengths and limitations, depending on the needs of the target population. The following discussion explores in detail some of the systems and procedures typical of the initial in-unit assessment in the VEU.

Operationalization of the Situational Assessment Model

The work sample situational assessment of the VEU owes much to a number of vocational theorists, as has been stated earlier. We now outline and illustrate the approach in the work sample/vocational testing section of the program.

Usdane (1977) considers three areas to be crucial in assisting an individual to attain employability: first, the development of a process whereby the assessment can capture the *work personality* of the disabled individual; second, the prediction of *work potential*, or the individual's capacity for learning, staying with a goal, and advancing after initial placement on the job; and third, the provision of *work adjustment*, or behaviour modification-oriented services, to bring about desired changes in the disabled person's work personality and thus to improve the fit between employer and employee expectations and needs.

Capturing the work personality. To address the area of the work personality, systematic observation of critical vocational behaviours (Krantz, 1971; see Tables 1 and 2), which have been gleaned from an analysis of those factors felt to be most critical to job success, is conducted in the work sample and vocational testing phase of the program. These include job-objective, job-keeping and job-seeking behaviours, as well as employment-coupled social living competencies.

TABLE 1

Critical Vocational Behaviors
(Krantz, 1971)

A. Job Objective Behaviors
   1. He has a vocational goal:
      a. being oriented toward employment or having a vocational goal at all;
      b. having a clear enough vocational goal to be able to move ahead at that point in his development
   2. He has an appropriate work objective goal which:
      a. is work he can do and for which he is qualified;
      b. is work he is willing to do;
      c. is actually available in the community

B. Job-Getting Behaviors
   1. He seeks work frequently enough
   2. He has appropriate interview behavior and presents himself in such a way that:
      a. he makes clear to the employer his assets;
      b. he accounts for his problems, such as periods of unemployment;
      c. he shows proper enthusiasm about the work;
      d. he is reasonably free of mannerisms which stigmatize him or annoy the employer
   3. He uses job leads – knows about sources of job leads and shows this knowledge in behavior

C. Job-Keeping Behaviors – behaviors which help the person to stay employed after he gets the job
   1. He attends work regularly (in general, misses less than 12 days of work per year)
   2. He shows up for work promptly (misses being on time no more than about 12 times per year). Note that promptness must be defined in appropriate terms; some jobs require that the employee not show up until almost exactly time to start work, and other jobs require that the person be at the work station some time before actually starting work
   3. He behaves toward co-workers in such a way that:
      a. he does not irritate them, make them mad, or distract them;
      b. he is not abused or victimized (this would create an administrative burden to the employer)
   4. He behaves in relation to supervision so that:
      a. he shows an acceptance of his subordinate role in relation to the supervisor;
      b. he creates minimum supervisory overhead consuming only ordinary supervisory time and attention

5. He produces enough work:
   a. he remains consistently at his work station to an extent appropriate to the occupation;
   b. he maintains adequate production speed (a common problem being low productivity – rarely, a client may have too high a speed leading to his rejection as a rate-buster);
   c. he sustains effort and shows adequate stamina and demonstrates willingness to continue to exert himself against the demands of the work world.
6. He produces up to appropriate quality standards:
   a. he recognizes that there are quality standards and accepts them as reasonable demands upon him;
   b. he attends to meeting quality standards and has attained the capability of meeting them;
   c. he recognizes the point of "good enough" and does not sacrifice production rate to needless perfectionism.

Typical critical vocational behaviours would include punctuality, attendance, grooming and the like.

Through the use of work samples and vocational tests that isolate critical vocational behaviours, we are able to identify work patterns, attitudes, interests and temperaments that are crucial to the job areas under consideration by the client and referring source. Other sources of information about the client's work personality include counselling sessions and the longer-term observations made in the extended work adjustment program and job stations, both of which were described earlier.

The prediction of work potential. The prediction of work potential is concerned with the actual tasks and aptitudes required on a particular job and the measurement of client aptitudes and skills with respect to these requirements. Referral agent questions about the feasibility of particular work areas for their client, the client's stated vocational choice, and the occupational areas that the client shows promise in as the evaluation progresses, are all used as starting points for a deeper analysis of work potential. These newer areas may be ones which the client has not previously explored in the context of work prior to his/her participation in the assessment.

Referral questions are of necessity the primary organizing factors in preparing the evaluation plan for a particular client. After all, the referring counsellor and client have initiated the process and know best which areas they are most interested in investigating further through intensive vocational counselling and evaluation techniques.

TABLE 2

Critical Employment-Coupled Behaviors
(Krantz, 1971)

D. Social Living Competencies
   1. He utilizes his leisure time so that he is:
      a. appropriately engaged and occupied rather than being at loose ends;
      b. satisfied and reasonably content with his leisure time occupation
   2. He manages his money so that he does not spend more than he has
   3. He has acceptable grooming and appearance
   4. He manages legal problems adequately (avoids excessive garnishments, manages divorce and other personal suits and effectively manages claims against such government services as social security or unemployment compensation)

E. Community Living Competencies
   1. He houses himself, finds a place to live and maintains reasonable stability in housing
   2. He secures adequate medical services (rehabilitation clients, the disadvantaged and the retarded no less than the physically disabled frequently have an unusual amount of medical need. They frequently are plagued by a multitude of minor to serious medical problems and have shown themselves to be inept at securing services):
      a. he has a personal physician or is linked to a public medical service;
      b. secures health-supportive services
   3. He is mobile in the community – he uses personal or public transportation when necessary for employment, recreation and personal affairs

F. General and Personal Living Competencies
   1. He copes with family and marital relationships so that they do not interfere with employment
   2. He has adequate personal adjustment and stability. (This is to be interpreted according to the individual and his situation and, above all, in relation to worker functioning. It is possible for a good worker to be chronically depressed or unhappy or even in acute psychic pain. He may think odd thoughts. However, the critical behaviors are those which are emitted in such a way as to influence his employability).

In order to answer these questions of work potential, standardized observation is begun of the client's performance on w[illegible] sample tasks that have been derived from analyses of actual jobs in industry. The systems used, which included the JEVS (Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, Note 5), Valpar (Valpar Corporation, Note 6), and Singer Vocational Evaluation (Singer Educational Division, Note 7) systems, and selected "paper and pencil" vocational tests (see Table 3), isolate the work factors that relate to success in particular job areas (Botterbusch, 1982).

TABLE 3

Some Representative Instruments
For Prediction of Work Potential

Jewish Employment and Vocational Work Sample System (JEVS; Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, Note 5): is designed to measure work performance factors and work behaviours and consists of many work samples which vary in intensity from simple to complex tasks and which are related to 12 work group categories. The specific work group categories suggested for a client depend upon consistent successful performance of correlated work samples.

Valpar Work Sample Series - Clerical Comprehension and Aptitude (Valpar Corporation, Note 6): this work sample measures a person's ability to learn and perform a variety of basic clerical tasks. The sample is designed to screen clients for many entry level jobs requiring general clerical ability.

Minnesota Clerical Test (Psychological Corporation): is a test of clerical speed and accuracy used in the selection of clerical workers whose jobs depend upon speedy perception and rapid handling of numbers, letters and other symbols.

General Clerical Test (Psychological Corporation): has been designed to measure aptitudes which are important in clerical work of all kinds. The *clerical* subscore is based on speed and accuracy in routine clerical tasks; the *numerical* subscore results from three kinds of numerical tasks which are generally met in clerical work and which are essential in some positions; the *verbal* subscore is a measure of language skills which are extremely important in some clerical positions and relevant in many others. A *total score* can be derived from the above and may be considered an estimate of clerical ability in general as well as an estimate of general intelligence based on performances which are significant for clerical activities.

Crawford Small Parts Dexterity Test (Psychological Corporation): a performance test designed to measure fine eye-hand coordination.

COATS Employability Attitudes System (Prep, Inc., Note 8): this self-scoring system assesses an individual's employability attitudes, makes that individual aware of gaps between his or her attitudes and employer expectations, and provides strategies to help the individual close these gaps. These objectives are achieved by assessing an individual's job-seeking and job-keeping attitudes, identifying gaps, and providing a comparison of an individual's responses and employer expectations and by prescribing specific learning activities that close gaps in specific attitude categories. The system consists of a series of taped vignettes that portray typical working situations and the client is asked to respond on a questionnaire the way he/she would respond in the actual job situation.

Note: These are the instruments used with client Sandra Doe, whose case is presented in detail later in this paper. Instruments other than those listed would be used with clients with needs different from those of Ms. Doe.

The JEVS system, in particular, has the advantage of building on client skills, from the simple to the complex, which is especially helpful in locating an occupational level through evaluation of a particular client *within* an occupational group. The work sample techniques used also tend to involve the client directly in the planning process, as requests for client feedback are built into the systems and help the evaluator modify the focus of the program as client needs become evident.

Work adjustment services. Work adjustment services, as a separate part of the program, have been discussed in the earlier description of the VEU and are mentioned here again mainly to underscore the fact that some work adjustment is also observed to occur in the work sample/vocational testing stage of evaluation. The client performs in a very work-like atmosphere with the actual tools, techniques, and materials used in industry. Clients are expected to display behaviours and skills that are compatible with the work being done and are assessed on these factors. Subtle and not so subtle co-worker pressures, as well as goals agreed upon in counselling sessions, also serve to effect some client adjustment in behaviour even at this early stage of vocational assessment.

The Data Synthesis Model Used in the Initial VEU Assessment

Our specific model of vocational evaluation in the work sample phase of the program has been derived from the Information Need-Based Method of vocational testing and reporting (Korn, Note 9). The process has been more fully described in the Data Synthesis Model (Sigmon and Rickicki, 1980) of vocational evaluation, which is defined as a sys-

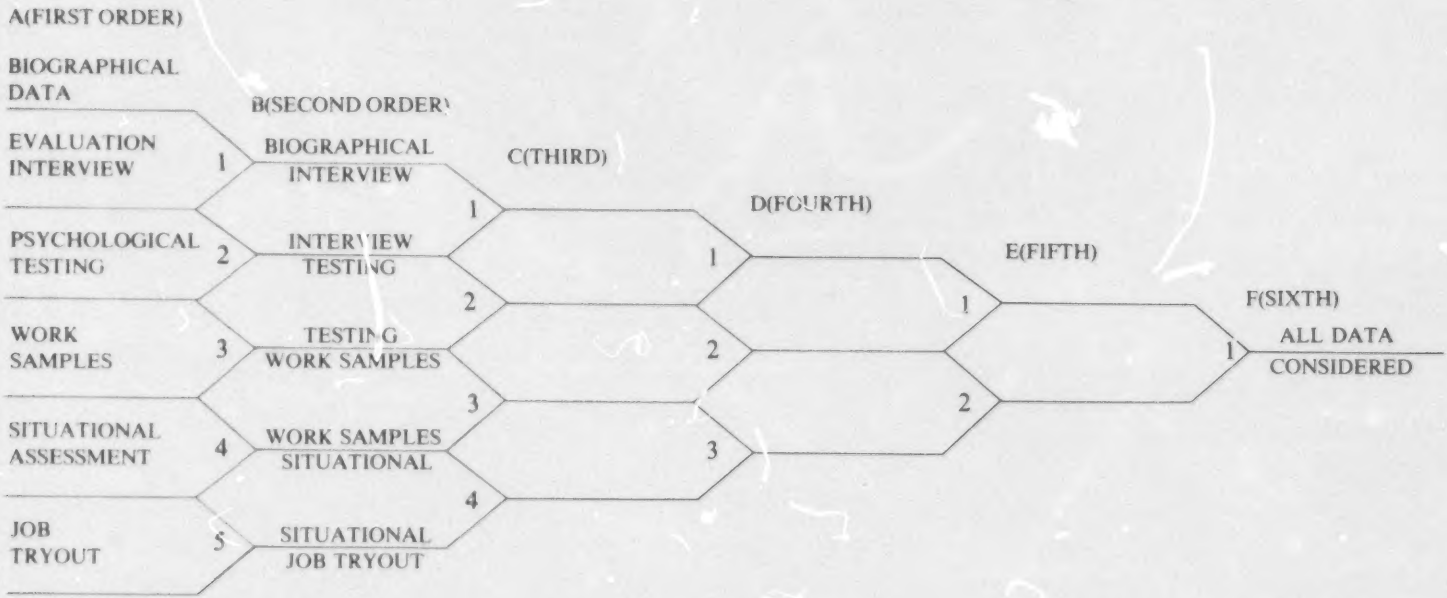


FIGURE 3

Data synthesis model
(from Sigmon & Rickicki, 1980)

tematic approach to ensure that all client information gathered is synthesized in such a way that:

1) significant vocational data are distinguished from extraneous information;
2) all data collected address the client's history and present status;
3) inconsistencies are identified and explained through information interrelation; and,
4) strengths and weaknesses are identified to formulate recommendations that are consistent with the synthesized data.

Figure 3 illustrates this process of data synthesis. The application of this model to the VEU assessment will be discussed later (under "Situational Assessment Findings"). At this point, we proceed to the second major topic of this paper, a detailed case presentation.

Case Presentation

In order to illustrate the application of the Holland-based psychometric model used in the Psychology Department and of the situational model used in the VEU, as well as the integration of the different techniques and instruments, we now present an actual case. In keeping with the usual chronological order, the psychological assessment will be presented first, followed by the VEU's evaluation and planning of the case.

Background Data

Name of client:	Sandra Doe
Date of birth:	12/6/52
Referral source (to Psychology):	Vocational Evaluation Unit, RORRC
Referring physician:	Dr. X, RORRC
Dates seen for testing (in Psychology):	July 19, 23, 24, 25, 1982
Date of feedback session (in Psychology):	August 4, 1982
Counselling sessions (in Psychology):	No psychological counselling was needed after the feedback session, during which the implications of the psychometric assessment were discussed with the client.

Background Information

Social and Medical History

Sandra Doe (not her real name) is a 30 year old bilingual woman, mother of two children, a seven year old and a ten year old. She has a history of habitual excessive drinking and of depression, for which she was hospitalized in 1976 and 1982. She also has a history of medication abuse.

Sandra's childhood was particularly difficult. Her parents were divorced when she was two. Her father, who had a chronic problem of alcoholism, remarried soon after his divorce. His second wife apparently beat Sandra and her brother, who was one year older than she. As the home situation became unbearable, Sandra and her brother (now both in their teens) referred themselves to the Children's Aid Society. They were apparently refused help due to their advanced age. At that point, Sandra and her brother got involved in stealing cars, with the result that both spent time in training schools.

Sandra was married at age 18. She obtained a temporary separation from her husband in the mid-1970s. Problems between her and her husband grew worse when her father separated from his second wife and moved in with her and her family. Sandra was also experiencing difficulties in coping with her older son at this time.

In January, 1982, the client agreed to participate as an inpatient in a group therapy program at a psychiatric centre. She has not had a drink since April, 1982.

At the age of four, Sandra suffered episodes of poliomyelitis which left her with residual weakness in the left leg and right arm. She underwent five operations to replace ligaments in her left knee; however, she continues to experience occasional falls because of weakness in the knee. Her disability, however, does not constitute a handicap in working an eight-hour day.

Vocational Background Information

Sandra attended training school until the age of 16. She completed grade 10 and received training in clerical work. She has had approximately two years' work experience as a receptionist and typist. She has also had some work experience in restaurants as a waitress, short-order cook, and cashier. At the time of the initial assessment (July, 1982), she was working as an information hostess in a major department store.

Her goal in seeking services at RCRRC was to identify a suitable steady occupation which would be more satisfying and meaningful. She also wished to upgrade her skills to the level of competitive employment. At the initial interview, Sandra expressed interest in secretarial and word-processing

work, and reported being able to type 85 words per minute. This was her first contact with a psychologist or vocational counsellor. She had found her previous jobs through newspaper advertisements.

Psychological Assessment Findings

Self-Perceived Vocational Strengths and Limitations (Table 4)

My Vocational Situation (MVS). Sandra's results on the MVS revealed that she perceived herself as having a better (i.e., clearer) than average vocational identity, but also as needing more than an average amount of career information and as having somewhat fewer vocational barriers than the average adult. An item analysis of the MVS showed that Sandra's vocational identity was limited by uncertainty about the kind of occupation she should choose. She also lacked information on what people do in different jobs, on employment opportunities, and on how to get needed job training and on how to search for a job. Finally, the only barrier she perceived was a lack of financial resources.

In summary, it did not appear that Sandra needed extended counselling. Rather, she appeared to require feedback and reassurance on the appropriateness of her preferred vocational choices (i.e., secretarial and word processing work) in relation to her measured abilities and interests.

TABLE 4

Test Results for Client Sandra Doe:
Self-Perceived Vocational Strengths and Limitations

1. My Vocational Situation (MVS):		
Vocational Identity:	15/18	(Favourable)
Need for Information:	1/4	(Unfavourable)
Barriers:	3/4	(Favourable)
2. Personal Capacities Questionnaire (PCQ):		
Vocational Limitations:	7/90	(Few)
Vocational Strengths:	3/10	(Some)

Personal Capacities Questionnaire (PCQ). On the PCQ, Sandra obtained a score of 7/90 for vocational limitations, reflecting mildly incapacitating factors. Difficulty in getting around, weakness in her right arm and mild clumsiness in her right hand, and the instability of her physical condition,

which requires periodic medical treatments, were among the vocationally-limiting factors she perceived herself as having. However, as reflected by her score of 3/10 on the vocational strengths portion of the PCQ, Sandra perceived herself as possessing several major vocationally-relevant assets: a pleasant personality, strong family support, and great determination to get a job. Overall, Sandra perceived herself as being slightly to moderately disabled and as having a very good (76-100%) chance of getting and holding a job.

Intellectual Abilities, Aptitudes, and School Achievement (Table 5)

Intellectual abilities. On the WAIS-R, Sandra obtained a full scale I.Q. of 87, i.e., in the low-average range. Nonverbal abilities appeared somewhat better than verbal reasoning: her verbal I.Q. was 81 (low-average) and her performance I.Q. was 92 (average). Subtests reflecting arithmetic skills, social judgment, verbal comprehension, rapid learn-

TABLE 5

Test Results For Client Sandra Doe:
Intellectual Abilities, Aptitudes and School Achievement

1. Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale – Revised (WAIS-R)
   - Verbal I.Q.: 81 (Low Average)
   - Performance I.Q.: 92 (Average)
   - Full-scale I.Q.: 87 (Low Average)
2. General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB):
   - N Numerical: 109 (Average)
   - V Verbal: 108 (Average)
   - Q Clerical Perception: 105 (Average)
   - P Form Perception: 101 (Average)
   - G Intelligence: 99 (Average)
   - F Finger Dexterity: 91 (Average)
   - K Motor Co-ordination: 91 (Average)
   - S Spatial: 82 (Low Average)
   - M Manual Dexterity: 69 (Significantly Below Average)
3. Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT):

	Grade Score	Percentile	
Reading	9.4	63	(Average)
Spelling	9.7	73	(High Average)
Arithmetic	6.9	47	(Average)

ing, as well as visuo-motor co-ordination and visual perception skills, were adequate and within normal limits. Her ability to abstract and conceptualize from words and object manipulation appeared mildly impaired. Vocabulary and information subtest results were reflective of limited education and intellectual curiosity. Concentration and attention appeared adequate. Overall, the scatter of her intellectual abilities was reflective of a rather concrete mode of thinking and of low-average intellectual abilities but of no major deficits.

School achievement. Sandra's results on the reading, spelling, and arithmetic subtests of the WRAT were within the average and high average range, somewhat higher than expected from her WAIS-R results and her level of education.

General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB). No significant deficiencies were evidenced on the GATB other than significantly impaired manual dexterity (which was expected due to her physical disability). Verbal and numerical aptitudes appeared equivalent, with scores within the average range. Clerical perception, form perception, finger dexterity, and motor co-ordination were also within the average range. If secretarial work were to be considered, it appeared that Sandra would have the required aptitude to work as a clerk-typist: according to the GATB manual, the cutting points for clerk-typist are 95 for general intelligence and 100 for form perception, clerical perception, and motor co-ordination. There were some suggestions from previous findings that word processing might be too demanding. However, this could not be verified from the GATB manual, which contains no information on the requirements for the very recently established occupation of word processing.

Vocational Interests (Table 6)

Self-Directed Search (SDS). Sandra's SDS profile was well-defined and differentiated. Her 3-letter Holland summary code was CSE, with high-average scores for the Conventional and Social themes. Her score for the Enterprising scale was average. Her differentiation score (obtained by substracting her lowest raw scale score from her highest score) was 35, equal to a percentile rank of 58 (college women norms), evidencing fairly clearcut interests. Furthermore, her 3-letter Holland code was congruent with her reported interests in clerical work and in working with people. It is also interesting to note the congruence between her actual SDS code (CSE) and her Daydream (aspirations) code (also CSE), reflecting realistic perceptions and adequate integration of her interests as well as a clear vocational identity when her aptitudes are considered. The SDS findings clearly

TABLE 6

Test Results For Client Sandra Doe: Vocational Interests

1. Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory (SCII):

SCII General Occupational Themes:

	Standard Score	
Conventional:	63	(Higher than Average)
Social:	47	(Average)
Enterprising:	44	(Average)
Artistic:	37	(Below Average)
Realistic:	36	(Below Average)
Investigative:	26	(Significantly Below Average)

SCII Basic Interest Scales (Partial):

	Standard Score	
Office Practices:	71	(Very Significantly higher than Average)
Domestic Arts:	61	(Significantly higher than Average)
Music/Drama:	57	(Higher than Average)
Business Management:	54	(Average)
Social Services:	53	(Average)
Medical Services:	50	(Average)
Mathematics:	49	(Average)
Sales:	48	(Average)

SCII Occupational Scales (Partial):

Very similar to (55+):	Secretary
Similar to (45-54):	Banker, Beautician, Credit Manager
Moderately Similar to (40-45):	Farmer, Dental Assistant, Business Teacher, Buyer

2. Self-Directed Search (SDS):

	Raw Score	
Conventional:	43	(Higher than Average)
Social:	33	(Higher than Average)
Enterprising:	25	(Average)
Artistic:	18	(Below Average)
Realistic:	9	(Significantly Below Average)
Investigative:	8	(Significantly Below Average)

3. Canadian Occupational Interest Inventory (COII):

	Raw Score	
Things vs. People	G (1)	(High on "People")
Business Contact vs. Scientific	G (13)	(High on "Business Contact")
Routine vs. Creative	E (11)	(High on "Routine")
Social vs. Solitary	F (12)	(High on "Social")
Prestige vs. Production	F (12)	(High on "Prestige")

pointed to a Conventional occupation such as clerical work involving contact with the public.

Her summary code on the SDS was perfectly congruent with the occupations of receptionist, phone operator, travel and personnel clerk. It appeared fairly congruent with secretarial work but significantly less so vis-à-vis work in word processing or as a file clerk, because the latter occupations involve a strong realistic component in which Sandra appeared to have very little interest.

Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory (SCII). Sandra's SCII results were compatible with her SDS results. Here again her profile was well-defined, with marked interest in the Conventional theme and average interest in Social and Enterprising occupations. Her interests in Artistic, Realistic and Investigative work were below average. Furthermore, on the Basic Interest scales, she had much higher than average scores in office practices and domestic arts. Higher than average interests found for music/drama appeared to be appropriate for avocational (leisure) interests rather than for work. Finally, on the Occupational scales, where her interests were compared with those of people employed in specific jobs, she appeared to have interests very similar to those of secretaries. These results were consistent with previous interest and aptitude findings, providing further ground for choice of a Conventional, clerical kind of occupation.

Canadian Occupational Interest Inventory (COII). The COII also yielded congruent findings. Working with people, business contacts, and activities which permit gaining the esteem of others (i.e., Social interests) were preferred to activities yielding a tangible product. Tasks of a concrete, repetitive, and systematic nature (Conventional) were preferred to scientific (Investigative) and creative (Artistic) activities.

Personality Findings (Figures 4 and 5)

No psychopathology was evidenced by the personality tests. Sandra did not appear to suffer from depression when seen. Overall, she emerged as a well-integrated, extroverted woman who is composed, relaxed, and energetic. Furthermore, she scored extremely high on the Millon Cooperativeness scale (Figure 5), which suggested that she is prone to follow instructions closely and expects to be told exactly what to do. Consequently, it appeared that Sandra would function best in a well structured work environment. Also, as evidenced on both personality tests, she seemed to have a marked need for social contacts. This further underlined the fact that a job involving public contact would best meet her personality needs and interests. However, it seemed preferable if these contacts could be of a relatively brief, superficial, and business-like nature. Furthermore, it can be noted that the client tends to be governed by her intellect rather than by her emotions, as her high CAQ score on Tough Poise and low score on Sensitivity suggested (Figure 4). Her unsentimental nature thus is congruent with her vocational interests. People who score low on Sensitivity tend not to be artistically oriented. They are rather practically inclined. Furthermore, her low Sensitivity score and average Hypochondriasis score (CAQ, Figure 4) suggested that she does not allow herself to dwell unduly on her physical disability. It is unlikely that she will use her disability to avoid performing tasks or to miss work.

In summary, Sandra emerged as a realistic and capable woman with a positive attitude and outlook on the future. However, her score of 3 on the CAQ Validity scale (Figure 4) indicated that caution is needed in interpreting these results and that Sandra may be denying certain psychological problems and difficulties in dealing with stress. Although there were no immediate concerns, as her emotional state appeared stable — i.e., her level of Ego Strength (CAQ) was within the average range and her scores on Emotional Vulnerability and Future Despair (MBHI) were very low — her history of depression and excessive drinking should not be forgotten. It may be that a high level of stress will precipitate a regression which may then surface in a neurotic reaction (as her high-average scores on the CAQ Suicidal Depression and Neuroticism scales may indicate).

Summary and Recommendations from Psychological Data

Sandra emerged as possessing a clear vocational identity. The vocational interest findings were consistent across the three relevant tests, and were also consistent with her

1. VALIDITY CHECK

Scores of 3 or higher on this scale are relatively rare and suggest that the rest of the profile should be interpreted cautiously. Details regarding the development and interpretation of V scores are given on pages 7 and 10 of the CAQ *Manual*.

2. NORMAL PERSONALITY TRAITS

3. THE CLINICAL FACTORS

4. SECOND-ORDER FACTORS

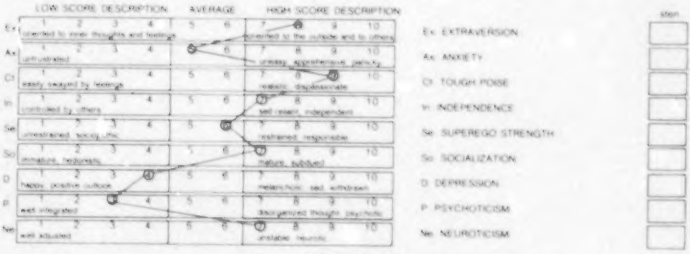


FIGURE 4
Personality profile of Client Sandra Doe on Clinical Analysis Questionnaire (CAQ).

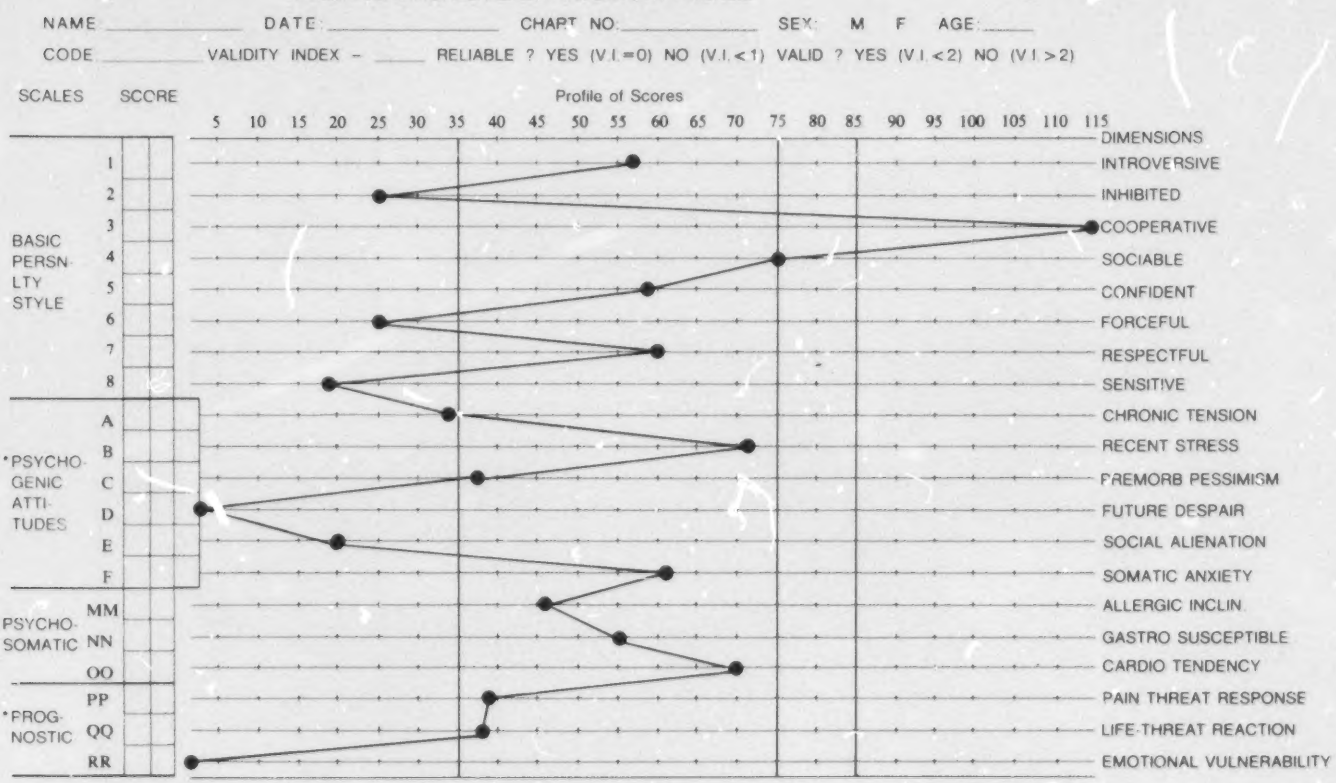


FIGURE 5

Personality profile of client Sandra Doe on the Millon Behavioral Health Inventory (MBHI)

expressed interest in a clerical type of occupation. More importantly, her abilities and aptitudes matched her interest profile.

Sandra showed interest mainly in Conventional and Social occupations. Her highest aptitudes were in verbal and numerical tasks (GATB). Finger dexterity and clerical perception were average, although manual dexterity was significantly below average. Consequently, it appeared that Sandra could choose from a wide range of jobs described as mainly clerical and, secondly, social. An occupation such as secretary, receptionist, phone operator, and office clerk would be appropriate. However, her deficient manual dexterity seemed to suggest that the client should not be placed on a job with heavy typing duties. This should, however, be assessed further in a practical work setting (e.g., in the VEU). Furthermore, it is suggested that the job chosen be fairly well structured and well defined as she appears to tolerate ambiguity poorly. A job involving public contact of a brief, rather superficial, nature would probably stimulate and help maintain her work motivation. Consequently, word processing would again be contraindicated as it may not permit enough social contacts.

No psychopathology was in evidence and none of her personality traits should preclude an adequate work adjustment. No significant complications are, therefore, anticipated in her interactions with co-workers and supervisors. However, her poor past history in coping with stress should not be ignored. Times of great stress may precipitate a new crisis, but this is unpredictable and Sandra will possibly be able to master the situation. She should be encouraged to return to her former psychotherapist whenever she feels the need.

Situational Assessment Findings

This section describes the application of the Data Synthesis model to Ms. Sandra Doe, originally referred to the Vocational Evaluation Unit by Vocational Rehabilitation Services (Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services). Examples of data synthesized from the results of vocational tests, interviews, work sample performance, and observed behaviours are presented. As noted by Sigmon and Rickicki, "the Data Synthesis model . . . constitutes a simplistic approach to a highly complex task" (1980, p.15). And so it is when trying to logically sequence and separate in written text the process of vocational counselling and evaluation for demonstration purposes. The evaluation protocol is constantly adjusted to exclude or include testing as the client reacts to experiences. However, what follows does give the general direction and flavour of a vocational evaluation

TABLE 7

Test Results for Client Sandra Doe:
Vocational Tests — Clerical

Test	Results
General Clerical Test (Norms: women employed in clerical jobs in a large investment company)	
Clerical subscore	60th %ile
Numerical subscore	95th %ile
Verbal subscore	80th %ile
Total score:	90th %ile
Typing Test for Business:	25 wpm, with 3 errors
Valpar Clerical Comprehension and Aptitude Work Sample (Norms: applicants for clerical work):	
Mail Sorting:	99th %ile
Filing:	99th %ile
Bookkeeping:	
Disbursement Ledger	
Daily Log	
Payroll Ledger	
Total:	99th %ile

experience for a typical VEU client, by selecting a few hypotheses and sequencing work samples and work experiences to test these hypotheses.

Initial Hypotheses

Significant vocational data addressing the client's history and present status were extracted from information given in the VEU intake interview and from referral data. Since much of this information was included earlier in the case history, it is not repeated here.

It is from these vocational data that the initial hypotheses were identified to begin to address and quantify Sandra Doe's vocational assets and deficits. Referral questions and case history information generated the first set of hypotheses:

Hypotheses	*Work Sample Tests*
- In comparison to norm group, client has above average typing skills	Typing test for Business (cf. Table 7)

- In comparison to norm group, client can take accurate phone messages 'and so forth.'	Valpar Clerical Work Sample (cf. Table 7) (Telephone answering section)

Work sample assessment thus tested the hypotheses formulated in the case history/referral stage.

Additional Hypotheses

As the client completes some testing and reacts to work samples and tests with "like" or "dislike" statements, the vocational picture of the client begins to emerge. This process adds to the evaluation hypotheses and expands the testing. For example, Ms. Doe mentioned that she likes to keep budget records and use a calculator at home. She also stated in counselling that she had had some specific experience with bookkeeping systems and had previously expressed an interest in word processing. The assessment thus added:

Hypotheses	*Work Sample Tests*
- in comparison to norm group, client can follow standard system and procedures for keeping complete records	Valpar Bookkeeping WS (cf. Table 7)
- in comparison to norm group, client moves eyes, hands, fingers together to use computing machines and to enter figures in a ledger.	JEVS Adding Machine WS (cf. Table 8) Valpar Bookkeeping WS (cf. Table 7) JEVS Payroll WS (cf. Table 8)

Through the data-synthesis process, answers are obtained to the questions posed. Inconsistencies are examined and explained, if possible, or are noted for further exploration. A vocational picture with assets and deficits and options for career direction thus emerges. Through the simultaneous process of evaluating each employment aptitude and the work behaviours critical to employment, the synthesis of vocational information is achieved.

Situational Summary

Ms. Doe is a hard working person whose ambition was to improve her working situation. She has particular skills in the clerical area and stated that she preferred to work in a more social environment, although this may have been a general reaction to her recent, relatively isolated lifestyle.

Her domestic situation is periodically in turmoil. An incident occurring while she was in the VEU, which involved a change of residence, initially greatly affected her work.

TABLE 8

Test Results for Sandra Doe: Results of Work Samples — Clerical

JEVS Work Sample Performance Scores (U-unsatisfactory / S-satisfactory)

Worker Trait Group	*DPT*	*Work Sample*	*Administered*	*Performance**
HANDLING	.887	1. Nut, Bolt & Washer Assembly		
		2. Rubber Stamping		
		3. Washer Threading		
		4. Budgette Assembly		
		5. Sign Making	X	S
SORTING, INSPECTING, MEASURING AND RELATED	.687	10. Tile Sorting		
		11. Nut Packing		
		12. Collating Leather Samples		
TENDING	.885	20. Grommet Assembly		
MANIPULATING	.884	30. Union Assembly		
		31. Belt Assembly		
		32. Ladder Assembly		
		33. Metal Square Fabrication		
		34. Hardware Assembly		
		35. Telephone Assembly		
		36. Lock Assembly		
ROUTINE CHECKING AND RECORDING	.688	40. Filing by Numbers		
		41. Proofreading	X	S
CLASSIFYING, FILING AND RELATED	.388	50. Filing by Letters		
		51. Nail and Screw Sorting		
		52. Adding Machine	X	S
		53. Payroll Computation	X	S
		54. Computing Postage		
INSPECTING AND STOCK CHECKING	.487	60. Resistor Reading	X	S

CRAFTSMANSHIP AND RELATED	.381	70. Pipe Assembly
DRAFTING AND RELATED	.281	90. Condensing Principle

However, her effectiveness in solving the problem on her own was notable.

Her *work personality*, as observed and tested, indicated a preference for working to measurable or verifiable criteria. She tended to "catch on" quickly to instructions and prided herself on this trait. However, her first impressions of a task were not always accurate and it subsequently proved quite difficult for others to convince her to adapt procedures.

She would work best in an environment which was relaxed socially but which was consistent and clear regarding procedures and work contingencies. She does not tolerate ambiguous situations well or see other points of view readily.

While Ms. Doe appeared quite concerned to appear in a good light during the evaluation, she displayed deficits in the following critical vocational behaviours (see Table 9): reaction to supervision (acknowledging, discussing and accepting comments from supervisor); disposition (handling difficulties positively and dealing pleasantly with others); persistence (completing a task in spite of problems or opposition); social judgment (determining goals of work group and employer and comparing with own goals); and adaptability (reacting positively to change). These traits were observed in Ms. Doe's behaviour and were also apparent in results of her self-administered COATS Employabilities Attitudes Job-Keeping Battery. This battery required Ms. Doe to view filmed vignettes of real work situations and to react as she would on the job.

On the positive side, Ms. Doe displayed job-keeping behaviours and chose responses meeting employer expectations in the areas of communication and assertiveness, grooming, and punctuality.

Ms. Doe responded best to a well-structured work environment in which she knew what was expected of her and was allowed some freedom to plan her work within these consistent parameters. As well, her tendency to banter somewhat informally with co-workers would be tolerated better in some office environments than others.

Work performance in the assessment centered on clerical areas in particular. Ms. Doe achieved consistently good scores in clerical aptitude tests when compared with employed worker standards. She also demonstrated a facility

and competitive rates for working with numbers in typical clerical situations, handling cash and bookkeeping (disbursements, payroll, and cash flow records). Her typing skills were currently less than competitive (25 words per minute, with 3 errors) but she felt this was due to a lack of recent experience. A slight practice effect was noted over the two weeks.

On the deficit side in the work performance area was her observed tendency to rush through work, reflected in slightly lower than expected scores in straight clerical accuracy tests,

TABLE 9

Test Results for Sandra Doe:
Work Behaviours on Selected Work Samples
and Vocational Tests

PERFORMANCE ON TASKS

	Competitive Employment Level	Needs Improvement	Needs much Improvement Special Services Indicated	No Improvement Expected
Manual dexterity	X			
Finger dexterity	X			
Bi-manual Coordination	X			
Eye-hand Coordination	X			
Eye-hand-foot Coordination	NT			
Form Perception		X		
Spatial Perception		X		
Clerical Perception		X		
Color Discrimination	X			
Size Discrimination	X			
Use of Hand Tools	NT			
Measuring Ability	X			
Work Pace	X			
Numerical Ability	X			
Work Aptitudes:				
Follows a Model of Work	X			
Follows Oral Instructions	X			
Follows Written Instructions	X			
Follows Diagrammed Instructions	X			
Follows A-V Instructions	X			
Retains Instructions	X			
Improves with Repetition	X			

Work Behaviour:		
Attendance	X	
Punctuality	X	
Work Attitude		X
Cooperation with Co-Workers	X	
Cooperation with Supervisors		X
Concentration	X	
Self Confidence		X
Organization	X	
Accuracy		X
Communication		X
Frustration Tolerance		X
Persistence		X
Neatness	X	
Supervision Required		X
Work Tolerance for 8 Hour Day	See Job Station Report when available	

DATE: November 3, 1982

comparing copy for errors, and checking typing for mistakes. This could be a definite liability in jobs requiring computation or proof-reading skills to be performed by Ms. Doe alone. She should be encouraged to take the extra time to check work carefully rather than trying to race to be the first to finish. This tendency also surfaced in a disdain for routine tasks as "too easy" when, in fact, her work on such tasks contained errors she was capable of correcting.

The results of work sample and vocational tests indicated that the specific area of interest for this client — *Clerical Machine Operation* — merited further exploration. However, work adjustment was recommended to address her insufficient level of accuracy on more routine tasks. It was also recommended that her low typing speed should be addressed in training and/or work adjustment. Jobs combining her aptitudes and interests include dispatcher, account recording and related occupations, and, possibly, with specific vocational skill training, word processing.

Conclusions Regarding Case Presentation

This section of the case history presentation has outlined the model used to synthesize client information into specific occupational suggestions. It has identified the sources of information from which hypotheses are derived and displayed the ongoing process of refinement and expansion of these hypotheses. In our opinion, a comprehensive assessment of client work personality and work potential and provision of appropriate work adjustment services result from the use of this model in a simulated work environment.

Overall, the recommendations made in subsequent counsellor reports, based upon information gained from this system, appear to be useful in helping our referral sources plan realistically with their clients.

Subsequent to participation in the evaluation program, which included job station experiences to test initial assessment findings, Ms. Doe enrolled in a three-month community course assisting women who wish to return to work. She was encouraged to do so by her vocational counsellor, although Ms. Doe felt "she did not need it". She was also assisted in addressing her job-keeping deficits by participating in ongoing counselling groups. It was also found on job stations that longer sessions on the typewriter resulted in fatigue in her affected arm and an arm rest was furnished.

At one point, intervention was necessary when Ms. Doe was required to change her residence. She shouldered most of the burden of the move and continued her VEU program as well. She was helped to see how difficult this was and to temporarily alter her priorities from employment to counselling concerning her feelings of exhaustion and pace of life.

As of January, 1983, Ms. Doe was continuing her community course and participating in regular counselling sessions prior to participation in job-seeking skills training. The ultimate success of our efforts to serve her at RORRC, both in the VEU and in the Psychology Department, will only be known when our planned follow-up interview with her has been conducted, several months from now.

Some Concluding Observations On the Prescriptive Vocational Assessment Model

In the foregoing, we have attempted to give an accurate portrayal of the prescriptive model that we use at RORRC. However, our presentation has emphasized what we see as strengths of the model. For the sake of objectivity and completeness, we conclude by commenting on some of the current limitations of our approach, weaknesses that we hope to reduce through future research and experimentation.

First, we believe that our model, while prescriptive, is not yet prescriptive enough. At present, the model does have most of the elements listed by Leland and Rice (1982) as constitutive of the prescriptive evaluation approach:

1) obtaining initial client information,
2) the evaluation interview,
3) preparing the vocational evaluation plan,
4) vocational exploration,
5) assessment,
6) formal staff conference,
7) the prescriptive evaluation report, and
8) follow-up.

However, we have yet to achieve a full integration of the complementary psychometric and situational perspectives. Within the next few months, as office accommodation becomes available, a Psychology staff member will be physically located in the VEU and will begin to take a more active role in ongoing case conferences. Instead of merely furnishing a separate, psychologically-oriented report to VEU staff (our mode of functioning up until now), the Psychology staff member will be available to help formulate the vocational and psychosocial recommendations that are included in the final prescriptive report sent to the referring counsellor (e.g., at Vocational Rehabilitation Services, Workmen's Compensation Board, etc.).

Second, we think we need to become more oriented to the difficult question of cost-effectiveness in conducting our assessments. We do have some intuitive "hunches" about which clients need only psychometric assessment, or only situational assessment, or both. However, these are only hunches and we may well be "over-assessing" some clients at present, thereby incurring cost inefficiencies and waiting list problems that research-based data may help to reduce or even eliminate.

Third, we think it necessary to spend more of our efforts on gathering systematic data on the reliability and predictive as well as incremental validity of our assessment tools, both psychometric and situational. Some of our psychological instruments have received adequate research attention with disabled clients, but others have not. As for our situational techniques, Botterbusch's (1982) trenchant criticism (of work samples) must be taken seriously: "Although some development of norms, reliability, and validity has occurred in the last 10 years, most work sample systems are technically inadequate" (p.94). We are fortunate in that all departments and units at RORRC have a combined clinical and research mandate. With the natural "laboratory" for vocational research afforded us by the Centre, we hope to make a modest, ongoing contribution to the need, in rehabilitation, for assessment tools that are not merely technically adequate but, rather, technically optimal.

Fourth, and finally, we are uneasy that we perhaps give too much attention to assessment and too little to intervention at the present time. In the vocational realm (as in many clinical areas), it is often far easier to assess clients than it is to intervene effectively. We hope to be able to redress the imbalance within the next six months or so by implementing (contingent on acquiring the necessary external funding) two research projects that will have a focus on intervention. One will consist of a randomized field experiment in which we

plan to test the relative impact and cost-effectiveness of three self-directed job placement methods for disabled persons. The second will be a smaller-scale field trial, with disabled clients, of *CHOICES*, the computerized occupational information system developed by Employment and Immigration Canada. Assuming that these projects are indeed carried out, we hope to be able, at a future National Consultation, to present a paper on intervention that complements the present one on assessment.

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Stages in the Development of an Interdisciplinary Approach to Career Decision Making

J.R.B. Cassie
F.G. Robinson
Field Services and Research
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

A speculative essay by Charner (1979) captures many of the tasks currently being set for a new or expanded career decision making thrust.

> Currently there are a number of programs which teach (career decision making) skills. More creative approaches are needed. Part of the problem in the past has been the lack of focus in identifying decision making skills . . . programs should be initiated which link occupations to activity preferences. Such programs could take the work routines of specific occupations and match these with the routines of a wide array of activities. . . . Others could . . . help individuals plan to use diverse interests for multiple adult roles and become aware of the need for planning for the future . . . such programs could help individuals order their preferences. . . . (1)

In this and similar accounts, optimism is expressed that more effective skill training, informed by greater self-knowledge and a greater knowledge of occupation characteristics, will pay off in positive effects that extend beyond occupation to all significant contexts of adult life.

Certainly we would want to be counted among the optimists. However, our location in field settings over the past decade — where our chief responsibility has been "improvement" in educational practice — has led us to believe that significant progress toward such a challenging objective will require that we bring to bear on the problems of career decision making conceptions and techniques whose origin lies outside the mainstream of guidance and counselling scholarship.

One cluster of needed conceptions and techniques can be found in the so-called "cognitive revolution", particularly in the notion of the central importance of cognitive schema in

all forms of skill behaviour. As we argued in an earlier paper (2), it appears that the learner's repeated encounter with types of problematic situations leaves a kind of mental residue (schema) which takes the form of a picture, image, or representation of the recurring elements of that type of situation, and of the relationships of these elements. A schema for decision making would have as its dominant elements representations of alternative courses of action; criteria (factors for appraising courses of action); and evidence (statements linking alternatives and criteria).

There are several theoretical reasons for believing that making these schema visible by creating an external analogue (a picture, chart or drawing) will facilitate intellectual mastery of the problem in question.

Alternatives

Criteria	A	B	C	. .
C_1				
C_2				
C_3				
. .				

The most obvious argument in favour of such "frameworks" is that 1) they serve as a data bank for the critical elements and data of the problem, hence reducing the load on short-term memory, 2) when the logic of the problem is thus made visible, it can be examined and elaborated to a more sophisticated level, and 3) the representation is (implicitly) a set of rules in that once the elements of the problem and their relationships are determined, what action needs to be taken to solve the problem becomes more or less evident.

A second strand in our thinking about educational improvement has to do with the importance of instructional and curriculum design technology. There now appears to be agreement among both practitioners and theorists that effective instruction for any particular subject (e.g., the development of decision making skill) rests on four primary prerequisites: 1) an understanding of the mental structure components that underlie the behaviour called for in the objective (e.g., schema and associated rule structures), 2) an understanding of the course of growth in these elements, 3) pedagogy which demonstrably facilitates this growth, and 4) ways of appraising or assessing the student's present position in this conception of growth (3).

These widely supported prerequisites suggest that growth

in decision making or planning skills is not likely to happen to any significant degree simply by presenting students with interesting information about themselves and occupations, and opportunities to make decisions, an assumption which Herr (1982) claims has characterized much of the traditional approach to career counselling and assessment (13).

But, instructional technologies for individual objectives, however effective, are not in themselves sufficient for realizing complex educational objectives (4). The problem is that many such technologies, reflecting the diverse knowledge and skills objectives of a career decision making program, have to be orchestrated so that they mutually reinforce each other, and collectively make the best use of the teacher's instructional time. Thus we believe that the use of broader technologies of curriculum design will also be critical for the delivery of effective career decision making programs.

Our beliefs about a third set of technologies required for significant educational improvement are based on the observation that even the most effective programs are rarely implemented in practice. We will not discuss here the substantial literature that documents this claim and identifies the various factors which contribute to this dismal result (see, in particular, Fullan, 1982). Fortunately, part of this same literature suggests that we can greatly improve the rate and degree of implementation of new programs if our "all or none" implementation notions are replaced by a conception of progressive growth toward the ideal. Some people doing research in this area have given concrete descriptions of the stages in teacher growth required to move from existing practice to the ideal (5,6).

The incorporation of these elements — new conceptions of decision making; technologies of instruction and curriculum design; implementation strategies — into practice will not be easy. It will require much additional conceptualization, applied research and intelligent field experimentation. A group convened by the present authors, hoping to make a modest contribution to this thrust, have initiated a project with other academics and field based practitioners with a background in counselling theory, curriculum design and instructional technology. A description of our present thinking constitutes the remainder of this paper.

A Framework for Describing Stages in the Development of an Interdisciplinary Approach to Career Decision Making

The intent of our project is to describe a succession of progressively more effective career decision making training approaches for grades 7-12, and to initiate steps that move us

through the beginning stages. Since the school's time investment will progressively increase with each successive stage, the project must at some point become interdisciplinary in nature (7,8).

Our conception of the elements that we are attempting to relate in our project are shown in Figure 1. As can be seen, we envisage three clusters of elements labelled *Tasks*, *Intellectual Requirements for Task*, and *Input Sources/Types*. Each is now described briefly.

Career related decision tasks: We believe there is a set of discernible career-related decisions that the student is required to make from the time he is about to leave elementary school to the time he enters the work force. During this period, the decisions will be predominantly — but not exclusively — of an educational nature. For example, a grade 8 student must choose the level of program he will embark on in high school (in Ontario, the levels are designated "advanced", "general", and "basic").

During any high school or university year, the student will have to choose the specific courses he will be taking the next year, and there will normally be "level options" in regard to such courses as well. And in some instances, as when the student graduates from high school, the choice will involve what institution to attend. These are illustrative, then, of the year-to-year decisions the student makes that collectively steer him toward a particular "career".

Decision framework requirements for tasks: We assume that there is a cognitive framework or schema, capable of dealing with the salient elements of any decision, that features the alternatives and criteria involved and their interaction. The plausibility of this claim is documented, we believe, in our earlier paper "A Decision Schema Approach to Career Decision Making" (1982).

One of the dominant frameworks for year-by-year decision making related to career is shown in Figure 2. As can be seen, the principal elements are classes of alternatives and criteria (value linked factors on which we would accord worth to alternatives). The "level of course" variable provides a further subdivision of most of the alternatives.

Information required for tasks: It is evident that certain types of information are required to complete the framework and to link alternatives to criteria. One such type is knowledge of the alternative structure in the decision situation. Thus for most Ontario students in grades 8-12, who are engaged in the yearly actively filling out of "course option sheets", one dominant class of alternatives may be designated "courses I have to take next year" (compulsory

FIGURE 1

GRADE LEVEL	Tasks	Intellectual Requirements for Tasks					Input Sources and Types (Contributions of Guidance/Academic Disciplines to Informed Decision Making)				
	Career/ Educational Decision(s) to be made	Frameworks	Rule Structures	Knowledge Base: Self	Knowledge Base: Education	Knowledge Base: Career	Guidance: Skill	Guidance: Knowledge Schema	Discipline A	Discipline B	--
7											
8											
9											
10											
11											
12											
..											

courses with optional levels). Another class would be "courses I have to take (and could take next year) to complete certificate requirements" (in Ontario, students are required to take a designated number of courses in four broad program areas). Yet another category — that would progressively acquire more elements as the student moved through high school — would be free options (neither compulsory for the next year, nor required for a diploma). In some instances, it might be preferable to simply collapse the latter two categories into a single one, designated "not compulsory, but available to me next year".

One can also think of criteria as falling in classes. Self-referenced criteria would be, in the short run, such things as "chance of getting a good mark (or simply passing)", "effort required" and just plain "anticipated pleasure"; in the long run, criteria would relate to post secondary educational plans and requirements of preferred occupations. Other relevant criteria would become important when students' educational choices have consequences for others (e.g., for parents and friends). Even in the high school years, the opportunity to be with friends is likely to be at least a minor criterion.

One primary class of "linking data" would be knowledge of one's abilities and aptitudes; another would be "interests" (broadly defined). Yet another would be the specific objectives and contents of the courses under consideration.

Potential inputs: types and sources: Input may involve providing the *information* (described above) necessary to build the framework and to link its elements, or providing *skill training* aimed at developing the ability to construct and employ decision frameworks and associated information processing rules. Input sources could, in a narrowly conceived program, be those provided solely by guidance personnel, either in formal instruction or in individual counselling sessions. The appeal for an interdisciplinary approach is based on the assumption that the high school's substantive disciplines can and should make a contribution to the intellectual requirements for career decision making tasks.

Stages in the Emergence of an Effective Career Decision Making Program

We will begin with the present situation, move on to stages that are plausibly attainable without modifying the perspective or structure of existing programs, and then hint at what might or should lie beyond this stage.

The present situation

Since there are many aspects of the present situation, we are limiting our attention to those that are most salient for career

FIGURE 2

The Dominant Framework for "Course Options" Decision Making

			Courses I have to take next year			Courses I have to take to complete the program and could take next year			True options	
			A	B	--	Y	Z	--	L	--
			$\ell_1\ \ell_2\ \ell_3$	$\ell_1\ \ell_2\ \ell_3$		$\ell_1\ \ell_2\ \ell_3$	$\ell_1\ \ell_2\ \ell_3$		$\ell_1\ \ell_2\ \ell_3$	
Criteria	self-referenced	c_1								
		c_2								
		c_3								
	other-referenced	c_1								
		c_2								
		c_3								

decision making. One obvious characteristic of the current situation (our reference point is again in Ontario) is that the majority of students appear to receive no formal decision making training prior to their being required to make major educational decisions. Our main evidence on this point comes both from personal contact with guidance people and from Board surveys that call for the *initiation* of such training.

Given this situation, it is likely that the schema which students bring to bear on their yearly "course option" decisions are very poorly formulated. While students may be counselled or guided on the alternatives available to them, the knowledge that is available to appraise these alternatives is severely deficient. For example, knowledge of self — which should be fundamental linking data in any personal choice — is likely dominated by a surface conception of one's ability and interest in certain "subjects"; the student will know how well he does on examinations in his various subjects, and that knowledge, plus other inputs of an essentially mysterious nature, determine his subjective feeling or linking for the subject. Given such a weak knowledge base, it is not surprising that situational factors (what courses are my friends taking; Mr. Stuart has a reputation for being a grouch; I don't want to take anything that obstructs my lunch hour when I meet my friends) are sometimes dominant influences in particular course choices.

It is difficult to make a data referenced quality assessment of the decision making that emerges. If the student is university-bound, and has selected a major or program of studies, then it may be thought obvious what his most appropriate courses are: usually, university-bound students would be prudent to take as many "top level" courses as they are capable of. So the predominant skill involved in this "choice" is the ability to devise a timetable in which not too many "tough" courses appear in the same semester.

For students not going to university or college, the most important choice is again between the levels of difficulty at which a particular, prescribed course will be attempted. On the surface it might not seem difficult to weigh — if only in a crude, intuitive manner — such factors as one's chance of success, the effort required, and the opportunity to be with friends. If a student has opted for a particular job, or is on the verge of so opting, then certainly there is considerable assistance that will allow him to match present competencies and interests against a spectrum of job profiles (9,10).

So the present situation may be described as one in which students employ semi-articulated decision schema into which they project surface information about their competencies

and interests in various subjects. If the process is working well, the result would be a semi-rational matching of abilities and personal, situational criteria with the existing course offerings of the secondary school.

However, there is evidence that this process does not work as well as it should. Ordinary experience with our own children, or the friends of our children, has allowed most of us to compile a lengthy list of "horrible examples". Do we not all have our own personal variants of these examples of infantile decision making: the bright student who quit school because he had an intense dislike of a particular teacher; the slow but plodding student who punishes himself with courses that are beyond his conceptual grasp until he succumbs to increasingly negative self-appraisals; the student of whatever ability level who selects major emphasis on the most trivial grounds.

The final aspect of the present situation that we will comment on has to do with the posture of the major high school disciplines toward career decision making. In our experience, the majority of proponents of most of the secondary school's major subject disciplines see the limit of their responsibility as a) giving the student an appraisal of his chances of passing courses of various levels of difficulty at the next grade level, and b) relating their subjects in a general way to educational and career approximations. Few would see the value of specific training in decision making since they would consider a certain amount of fumbling and trial and error search to be an inescapable aspect of human adjustment to the real world. Such a view would not foster any sense of urgency about the need for guidance staff-initiated programs (11,12), or the deliberate facilitation of their goals.

Making a start: Formal training in career decision making

In Ontario, courses in career decision making will become mandatory for all students at the grades 7 and 8 level beginning in 1983-84. In addition, guidance departments in many secondary schools are beginning to offer career credit courses to increase opportunities for teaching career guidance. These are potentially very positive developments.

However, it would be a mistake to assume that the career decision making programs that result will necessarily be very effective in raising the level of sophistication of student decision making. In our view, there is as yet little solid performance data to show the effectiveness of such programs (14,15,8). The degree of effect achieved will be commensurate, in our judgment, with the degree to which the sets of

techniques described at the outset of this section are systematically brought into the design and implementation of career decision making programs.

An essential starting point, then, must be to go beyond general purpose problem solving or decision making training to come to grips with the particular types of schema or frameworks required for the tasks the student is addressing. An early thrust in the program, then, must be to get the student to see the utility of such frameworks, and to acquire flexibility in moving between their elements.

A second requirement is to ensure that the data required to employ such frameworks are available to the student. The more we look into the problem of appropriate data, however, the better we can understand why generalized decision making models might not work in a career context. For example, perhaps the most compelling case for needed data is that required to make a distinction between "the mark I get in the subject" (which is at best a weak indication of present ability in most cases), and "my aptitude for" a particular kind of activity. When these are severely out of whack, "subject marks" that are misconstrued in either a positive or negative way may steer the student in entirely the wrong direction. Perhaps the most widely known and lamented misperception of this kind begins to develop when the young adolescent female encounters complex problem solving in mathematics or science for the first time. Inability to excel with the ease that was possible in elementary school arithmetic evidently engenders the appraisal, "I can't do mathematics" and the affective response "I don't like mathematics", in an alarming number of cases (16). No doubt we could construct another set of personal horror stories in which students misconstrued the results of inappropriate background or totally inept (or extremely competent) teaching in terms of personal aptitude and, as a result, pursued educational goals that were totally incompatible with their real aptitude.

Unfortunately the data requirements for even the simplest of choices reflected in Figure 2 go considerably beyond a clear understanding of course-related aptitude. Perhaps the most difficult decision is that faced by a student who, say, has earned 60 in his grade 10 mathematics course, and now has to decide what level of mathematics he should take in grade 11: obviously this is a very critical decision because "dropping down" from "advanced" to "general" mathematics has enormous implications for the number of educational and vocational options left open to the student. What the student has to put together is a kind of matrix in which various combinations of aptitude and effort are related to

various levels of performance in grade 11 mathematics. Simply advising the student that "If your mark is below 65, you are not likely to pass grade 11 mathematics" oversimplifies the problem in a way that puts no stock in the prospect of compensating for modest ability by exceptional effort. Obviously, what is required here is a piece of quantitative reasoning for which the students have had no training and for which the school provides little useful data.

Similar difficulties arise if the student were to attempt to employ "likely pleasure to be derived" or "congruence with my interest" as a criterion in deciding between levels of courses. Relevant data would indicate how a particular course matched particular interests, or at least sufficient information on the objectives and activities of the course to allow some judgment on the student's part on what his likely response to it will be. While some schools provide descriptions of individual courses, it seems that students understand well enough that the general level course is most likely to be a watered down version of the advanced course, so the notion that one might discriminate between them on the basis of "interest" is misleading.

As further information problems, we constantly encourage students to believe that their conception of possible occupations however tentatively held, should figure in the criteria they employ to make levels courses. Realistically, though, many high school students either do not have a specific occupation in mind, or are likely to change their minds several times before they finally enter the work force, a situation that at least some writers regard as healthy (7). In order to relate next year's course choice to occupations, therefore, such a student needs an index for each "lower level" course indicating the proportion of jobs available (if the advanced level were pursued) that are *eliminated* if it is pursued. Such a "door slamming" index could be a powerful deterrent to the obvious danger of giving present effort a much more highly negative weighing in a cost-benefit matrix than it deserves in the long run.

Once these curriculum design problems are overcome, and we have a demonstrably effective decision making program in our possession, then there remains the task of implementing it. If we take contemporary skill teaching notions seriously — and for most teachers, the effective delivery of decision making competencies does require new skill — then teachers themselves will need demonstration or modelling of the intended techniques and coaching as they try to employ these skills in context. Anyone who thinks that these steps can be bypassed by simply distributing curriculum materials is probably deceiving himself.

While recognizing these formidable problems, we should not make the error of believing that nothing can be done. Over the past decade a good deal of data has been collected to show that problem solving methods can work (17), and that teachers can learn to use these techniques effectively (18). Indeed, in our current project we have already begun to see discernible signs of more sophisticated course level and option choosing by grade 7 and 8 students who have been trained to explicitly conceive of their decision making in terms of the dominant framework shown in Figure 2.

Interdisciplinary Collaboration in the Development of Course Decision Making Skills

It seems obvious that the effort to train and develop skill *must* be interdisciplinary and continuing if it is to have any noticeable chance of success. It would be naive, for example, to expect a few hours of decision making training in the elementary grades to materialize in skill that will be internalized and automatically employed throughout the high school and university years whenever career decisions are to be made. But unless there is further strengthening and expected use of decision making skill, the effects of gains made by students in the senior elementary grades will rapidly dissipate.

In order to mount an interdisciplinary approach to skills, the proponents of various subject disciplines would have to have a common conception of decision making and would, in addition, have to understand how its component skills might be employed and strengthened in their particular disciplines. We believe that this common perspective on skills can be got from a so-called interdisciplinary skills list: this list has progressively emerged from the skill training work of a number of academics working in field settings. According to the theory that underlies the list of skills (4), an individual approaches any problematic situation (the need to make a decision presents such a situation) by constructing a schema (mental representation) or framework (external representation of the schema), obtains data that fills or completes the framework, and processes data within the framework to reach a conclusion (decision in this case). In Figure 3, we give a description of the more extensive set of skills into which these primary phases of decision making can be decomposed, and in Figure 4 we show the variants of the interdisciplinary skills list that can apply to decision making.

In practice, such a list can be developed by having representatives of each of the high school disciplines retrospectively analyze how they solve a frequently occurring type of problem in their subject field, and by comparing and generalizing the individual skill lists so generated.

FIGURE 3

An Interdisciplinary Skills List (I.D.S.L.)
Describing Generic Skills Used for Linking
Discipline-Specific Inquiries

1. *Establishing a focus for the inquiry* involves identifying the question to be answered or defining the elements of a problem to be solved. The skill is concerned with narrowing a diffuse interest in a topic to a specific area of focus. This can take such forms as posing a problem question, stating an hypothesis, or identifying a decision to be made. Counsellors often express concern that students struggle in their use of the career information and educational information resources. Students frequently fail to establish a suitable focus for their investigation. The result is that they randomly peruse various resources in the vain hope that the information found will magically elicit its own focus.

2. *Establishing a framework for the inquiry* involves developing a mental image of the problem and the strategy for its solution. This can take such forms as drawing a diagram of the problem elements; establishing the structure of a table that must be completed to answer the question; drawing a sketch of the conceptual relationship between ideas to be expounded in a composition. Clearly, the framework for the inquiry is the most important skill in this list. Because it is postulated mental structure, we have found the task of externalizing the frameworks for inquiries within specific disciplines a challenging exercise.

3. *Determining sources* of data involves the identification of sources of information believed to be needed to conduct the inquiry (books, tables, charts, audio visual presentations, etc.).

4. *Obtaining/Interpreting data at the source* can take such forms as measuring physical dimensions, surveying opinion or practice; retrieving information from such external stores as books, maps, or artifacts; retrieving information from memory.

5. *Assessing the adequacy of data at the source* involves such things as determining accuracy, reliability and relevance, assessing bias; determining the epistemological status of data.

6. *Projecting data into the problem frame* may include putting numbers in tables; deducing unknown parts by application of propositional knowledge; filling in the details of a composition sketch; and so forth. For example, if the format for representing the framework for a scientific inquiry were a data table, the skill involves putting each datum into the correct cell of the table.

7. *Reducing data to summary form* involves the application of a data processing algorithm to average, compute percentages, etc., to facilitate the interpretation of information recorded in the framework.

8. *Observing relationships in data* is an important skill in some, but not all, problem types. It may involve solving a series of equations of various degrees of complexity; determining preponderance or "weight"; or averaging. This skill is particularly concerned with using all the appropriate information to establish or disconfirm a statistical relationship between two or more variables.

9. *Interpreting the summary data* involves the accurate expression of the particular relationship that formed the object of the inquiry. This may be a conclusion that the summary symbols are the solution to the problem ($E = mc^2$); ascertaining that a causal relationship is in evidence (chemical retards the growth of fresh-water algae . . .); declaring a particular hypothesis is most plausible in light of the evidence; and asserting that a thesis or hypothesis has been supported.

10. *Extrapolating the interpretation beyond the problem framework* may take such forms as generalizing, predicting or suggesting the application of a particular line of reasoning to a new issue.

11. *Communicating the inquiry and its result* involves reporting the results, and where relevant, the process of an investigation. This is the final product of a problem-solving episode.

One of the great insights that emerges from such an intellectual exercise is that the chief difference between the dominant types of inquiry found in high school subject disciplines is in a) the *form* of the schema employed (e.g., a decision calls for one type of schema and a causal inquiry another, and b) the concepts used to define the main elements of the framework. At the same time, the structural similarities in the framework and the equivalence of discipline specific variants of the same (IDSL) skill, provide the basis for a common conception of *growth*, skill instruction, and assessment. In other words, the previously defined requirements for a technology of skill instruction can become shared property among the representatives of several school subject disciplines and hence the basis of mutual support of each group's skill training efforts.

In terms of concrete projects, the simplest form of interdisciplinary cooperation might occur when history, geography and English teachers agree to reinforce decision schema in major inquiries in their disciplines that call for them. For

example, the geography teacher would explicitly employ decision frameworks in analyzing land use or in a "location" study and would draw students' attention to the similarities of such frameworks to those students employ in their course choices. Similarly, the history teacher would show how issues analysis depends on essentially the same framework. And when the student is called on to do position writing, the English teacher would again reinforce the benefits of constructing a position around an explicitly designed decisional framework.

FIGURE 4

Decision Making Variants
of the Interdisciplinary Skills List

Interdisciplinary Skills List	*Decision Making Variant*
Establishing a focus for the inquiry	Formulating problem in decision form
Establishing a framework for the focus	Developing a decision matrix appropriate to given problem
Identifying potential sources of information	Identifying potential sources of decision (matrix) data
Assessing the adequacy of data	Assessing the reliability/ relevance of data
Incorporating data in the framework	Converting raw decision data to matrix entry form
Using a data summarizing algorithm	Summarizing matrix data
Observing relationships in summary data	Observing relationships in matrix data
Interpreting relationships observed in summary data	Interpreting the relationships observed in terms of a best alternative (e.g., compromise)
Extrapolating the interpretation beyond the framework	Extrapolating the interpretation (best choice) to designated situation
Communicating the inquiry and its result from the framework	Reporting the analysis and resolution of the problem from its organizing framework (matrix)

At a more intensive level of interaction, we could envisage how the product of an inquiry in one discipline could become the data for curricular decision making; for example, studies

of population or economic trends could lead to predictions of the likely location or plentifulness of occupations, and this latter information could in turn be incorporated into frameworks for occupational and attendant educational decisions (e.g., knowledge that a certain kind of job is likely to be found in a particular part of the country could be significant data at some stage in the curricular decision making process).

As the contribution of disciplines to career decision making became more explicit and integrated, collaborative efforts would spread to other interdisciplinary skill components. For example, it is obvious that the sophisticated processing of data — whether in decision making or any other task — requires the use of algorithms for determining trends and relationships that are most clearly within the competence of mathematics teachers. And, of course, the new element on the information processing scene is the increasing availability of computers to do very sophisticated analyses at the user's command: given the wizardry of today's computers, it seems inexcusable that the student should have to approach critical "level of course" decisions with only the rawest of intuitions about the joint relationship of aptitude, current ability, and effort, with degree of likelihood of success. So while we might initially think of mathematics as having little to do with the goals of career decision making, the magnitude of its potential contribution becomes evident when viewed in an interdisciplinary skills context.

Obviously, the problems of implementing the type of interdisciplinary collaboration that we have described would be formidable, so progress is bound to be slow. We are trying two different approaches in our own project. On the one hand, we are using established decision making units in intermediate grade geography and history as the means of providing an advanced skill basis for a senior career decision making course. In an alternative approach, we are attempting to implement a guidance department sponsored career decision making program that spans grades 9 to 12, but are building into it specific requests for assistance from substantive disciplines.

Orienting schools to career?

The interdisciplinary approach to skill training that we have described above should certainly meet part of Charner's expectations outlined at the beginning of this article. Perhaps a reasonable expectation for such a program would be that the majority would reach a standard of career decision making currently attained by the superior half of students. So the question of whether anything further needs to be done

would devolve on the further question of whether the collective yearly decision making of this superior group has led to satisfying end points. While no acceptable data are available, it is striking that many literate adults openly admit that they do not like what they are doing nor where they are doing it. It is not only that they dislike their work, but that they are unhappy as well in the other domains of human activity implied in the broader concept of career. In Charner's terms, they have failed to bring into being a life situation in which their "diverse interests" are embedded in their "multiple adult roles".

There will be many explanations for this state of affairs, if its existence is conceded. There will again be an appeal to the notion that dissatisfaction is a necessary part of the human condition. Or it will be claimed that intractable economic or political factors force the majority into doing what makes them unhappy.

An alternate explanation is that we have simply failed to take the concept of a "career" seriously in our public schooling. For to take it seriously implies that we would i) give students continuing help in conceptualizing their ideal life situation in a way that allows its elements to serve as decision criteria, ii) give students the data that allow a matching of occupations to ideal life situations, and iii) provide educational alternatives that generate "ideal life situation" competencies.

The burgeoning career decision making literature contains a great number of rich conceptual resources for addressing the first two of these problems. In regard to the first, it is clear that Holland's (19) "personality types" can be alternately conceived as preferred activities, and that Dubin's "central life interests" captures "expressed preference for a given locale or situation" (20); some combination or cross-fertilization of these constructs, it would seem, might capture the notion of "ideal life situation" as we have conceived it. Similarly, conceptual work on "job related values" (21) and "work aspect preferences" (22) offer promise in relation to the second question.

Yet it does not seem to us that these conceptualizations are yet sufficiently integrated to allow educators to address the all-important third course of action. It is obvious that Ontario educators at least are once again struggling to conceptualize a viable alternative to the university oriented secondary school stream. Reference to "personal skills" and the "requirements for active and compassionate citizenship in a democratic society" contain fragments of the notion that schooling should yield the skills required to sustain the individual's conception of preferred activities in significant

personal contexts. But despite these efforts, a distinctive program must have a deeper conceptualization of "preferred activities in preferred contexts" before these fragments can become a genuine alternative and significant force toward greater career satisfaction. It will be in the resolution of these problems, and in addressing changes in our traditional courses that a "preparation for ideal life situations" conception implies, that the interdisciplinary approach to career decision making will attain its most complete development.

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